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Contents.

	PAGE.
Norbury Church, Notes on. By Oliver Baker	1
Solihull Church. By the Rev. Canon Evans, M.A.	14
Birmingham at the time of John Leland's Visit. By J. A. Langford, LL.D.	32
Excursions, 1882:—	
Kirby Hall, Deene Park and Rockingham	43
Cropredy, Wardington and Chipping Warden	45
Salisbury, Stonehenge and Winchester	48
Chaddesley Corbett and Harvington (1881)	49
Report and Accounts for 1882	50
Maps or Plans of Birmingham. By Sam: Timmins, F.S.A.	53
Old Birmingham Books. By Sam: Timmins, F.S.A.	59
Wandering Life in England in the Fourteenth Century. By Dr. J. J. Jusserand. Translated by the Rev. J. O. Bevan, M.A., F.G.S.	69
Excursions, 1883:—	
Oxford and Iffley	92
Shifnal and Tong	93
Rolleston and Tutbury	94
Wells, Glastonbury and Cheddar	95
Report and Accounts for 1883	98

List of Illustrations.

NORBURY CHURCH:—	
View of Interior (Etching, by Oliver Baker)	Frontispiece.
Ground Plan and Sketches from Monuments	Plate 1
Sketches from Monuments	Plate 2
SOLIHULL CHURCH, Ground Plan	Plate 3
WARDINGTON AND CHIPPING WARDEN CHURCHES, Sketches from.	Plates 4 & 5
SALISBURY, Views of	Plate 6
NORTON AND HARVINGTON, Sketches	Plate 7

Samuel Nisbiann to Queen Elizabeth
English Etchings Part VIII

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Notes on Norbury Church.

By OLIVER BAKER.

25th January, 1882.

BETWEEN the towns of Uttoxeter and Ashbourne the church and manor-house of Norbury stand at the edge of a steep bank overlooking the valley of the Dove, and commanding fine views towards the Weaver Hills. The river flows at the foot of the bank, and divides the county of Stafford from that of Derby. The manor-house, for several centuries the residence of the great Fitzherbert family, is still a building of considerable beauty and very great interest, in spite of the unpromising aspect of the front face, which has been cased with brick.

But our present business is with the church. During a stay at Norbury I made some sketches and rubbings of the Fitzherbert tombs and brasses, which form one of its great attractions; and the following notes were written, not as a paper treating of the whole subject, but to explain the above sketches, etc., which had been thought interesting enough by the Committee to exhibit to the members of the Section. The fact is that Norbury Church had been so well dealt with, especially its history, by Mr. J. C. Cox, in his book on the "Churches of Derbyshire" (a well-known work of great learning and research, to which those who wish to follow out this subject should refer), that no comprehensive account was called for. But at the same time, owing no doubt to the vastness of the subject he had undertaken, Mr. Cox's notes on the fabric itself and its contents would seem to have been more hasty and not so complete as those on other churches observed by him, and there was room for additional study without trenching very largely on the ground he had gone over, except where his account seemed to be at variance with the evidence of the building itself. There are one or two instances in which I think he must have been misled from want of opportunity to more thoroughly study the subject on the spot. But where I have felt obliged to challenge his

conclusions, I do so, of course, with considerable hesitation, because, apart from his ecclesiological knowledge, Mr. Cox has had access to documentary evidence which ought to throw light on some at any rate of the points at issue.

The church, as will be seen from the ground plan (Plate 1), is somewhat unusual in its proportions and arrangement. It consists of nave, chancel, north aisle, tower, and south-east and south-west chapels; the chancel being singularly large in proportion to the nave, and the tower placed in the middle of the south side of the nave between the two chapels.

The font is Early English, but no part of the church of that date now remains. It stands on a stone platform in the nave, and resembles in shape a short clustered pillar, the bell capital forming the bowl. In the four larger shafts the four corners are emphasised by small fillets. (Plate 1.)

There is nothing to show what was the extent of the Early English church, and of the decorated nave which replaced it: the columns and responds of the north arcade are all that remain. The arcade consists of four pointed arches of two orders, supported on three octagonal pillars and two responds. They are of a common type, and of no great interest. The next change was probably the building of a new chancel (by Henry Kniveton, rector, about 1370), which, with the exception of the timber roof and the glazing of the east window, remains almost untouched, and forms perhaps the chief feature and charm of the church.

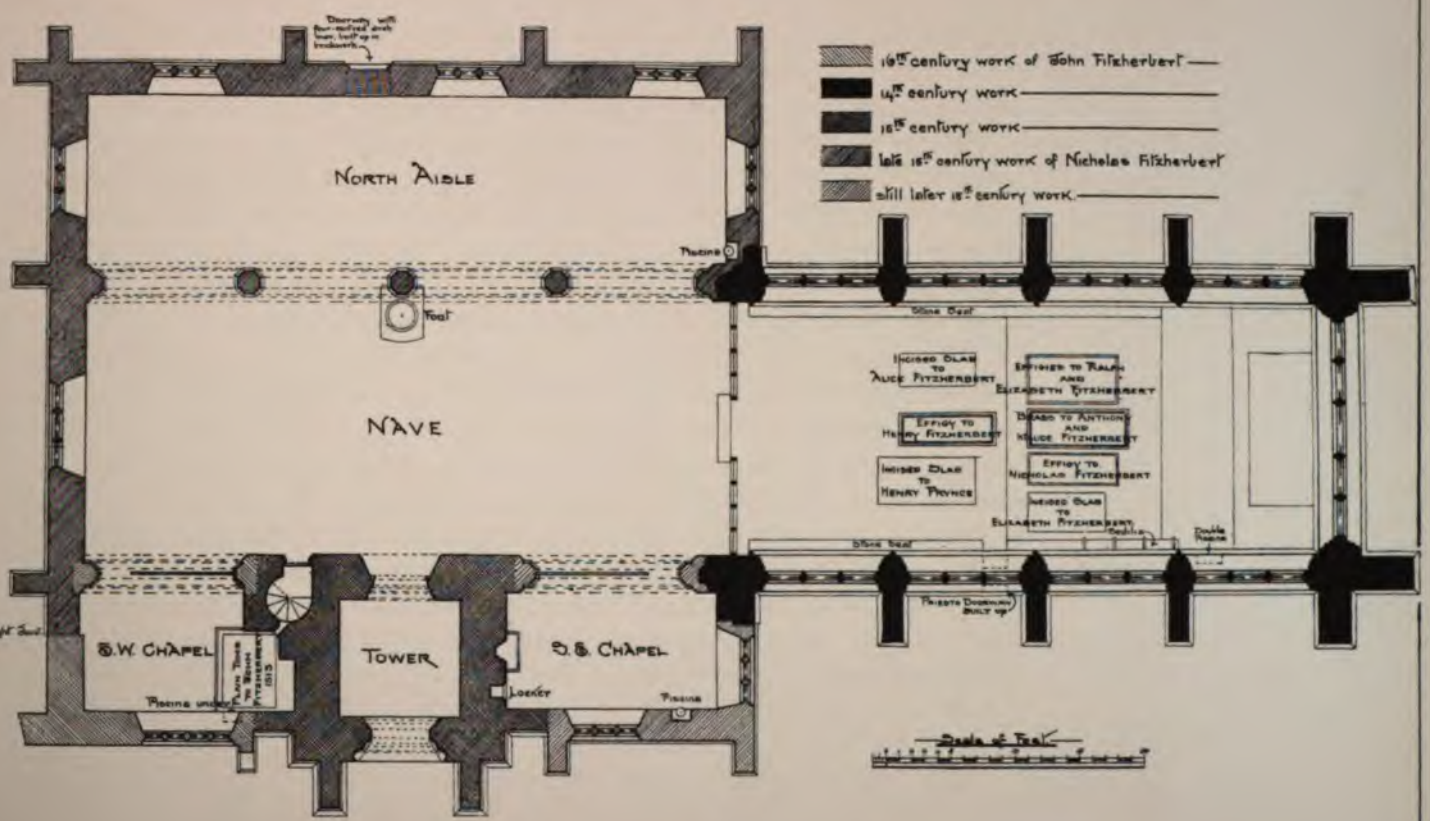
The north and south walls of the chancel, internally, are each divided into four bays by a projecting vertical moulding, which runs up between the windows, a similar one crossing it horizontally at the height of the window sills.* Above this string each bay is occupied by a window of geometrical tracery, filling the entire width, and below it by an arcading of five cinquefoil headed arches, except in the second bay of the north wall counting from the west, in which one arch has a trefoiled head, and has been pierced to form a priest's door, now blocked up. Externally this door has a multifoiled head, which encroaches on the sill of the window above. Round the walls at the foot of the arcading is carried a stone bench-table or seat, with a chamfered edge, terminating at the east end of the north side in a raised portion, which is divided by stone rests into triple sedilia for priest, deacon, and sub-deacon. On the north side it finishes at the altar steps, level with the sedilia opposite. At the two western ends it is continued at right angles by the fifteenth century oak stalls across the chancel. On the south side the bench-table is discontinued to allow a gangway for the priest's door above mentioned. Two arches of the easternmost arcading appear to have been cut away to allow the Perpendicular oak wainscotting, which covers the east wall below the window, to be returned a short distance along the north and south walls. The middle arch of those remaining on the south side is deeply recessed to form a piscina niche. (Plate 1.) It has a double credence shelf and two projecting basins

* See view of interior.

Figure on Brass from tomb of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert

Font

Slab to Henry Prynce



with drains. Piscinas are rarely found double after this date, as the rubric being altered, the priest was directed to swallow the water in which the chalice had been rinsed, so that only one piscina drain was required, namely, that for pouring away the water in which he had washed his hands before celebrating mass.

The chancel is lighted by the eight side windows mentioned above, all of the same size and design, and by one very large east window which occupies its entire width. The tracery of all these windows is unusually fine, and is of geometrical character, although the ogee arch which marks the change to the flowing style is frequently repeated. The tracery in the large east window is divided into five lights, the heads of which are cusped, and finish at the top with a slight ogee; the centre one is wider than the rest, and the ogee more decided; at its apex the tracery culminates in a kind of boss, carved like a conventional rose inside and out. This window is filled with fine fifteenth century glass, brought from the nave, and well worth studying.

The tracery of the side windows consists of three principal lights with ogee shaped heads, and six tracery lights above. Like the large one they have the flower of twelve petals at the intersection of the tracery. All these windows contain the original stained glass, which is celebrated for its fine state of preservation. Probably there is hardly another parish church in the kingdom with more fourteenth century glass. Externally, the windows are divided by buttresses of an early type. They are without stages, being, with the exception of two slight plinths at the lower part, of the same dimensions from top to bottom. The manner in which they are finished at the top is interesting: about two-thirds of their thickness is sloped against the wall with a gabled coping, the outer third is carried a foot or two higher, and finishes with a pyramidal capping, excepting the six corner ones, which have gabled tops. The walls, which are carried somewhat above the lead roof, have a very curious wavy parapet. The structural changes made in the chancel were the lowering of the roof, which is stated on his tomb to have been carried out by Henry Prince, rector here from 1466 to 1500, and possibly the removal of the chancel arch took place at about the same period. At a time not very distant from this, the nave, tower, and north aisle had been almost rebuilt, and a clerestory added. On the subject of these alterations Mr. Cox gives some particulars (apparently derived from his reading of documents) which do not appear to me to tally with the evidence of the building itself.

In Vol. iii., page 233, of the "Churches of Derbyshire," he gives the epitaph of Nicholas Fitzherbert, in which is stated "this church he made of his own expense," and explains it as follows:—"The statement that he made this church at his own expense must refer to the building of the north aisle and the south-east chapel, the raising of the walls of the nave and inserting clerestory windows, covering it with a flat roof, together with the designing of the tower and of south-west chapel, which were left to his grandson John to accomplish *circa* 1500."

Mr. Cox does not give any description of the tower, north aisle, clerestory, or chapels, and it seems probable that he has formed the above opinion without a very careful examination of those parts. Had he made such an examination, I think he would have seen that they could not have been erected in the order given. The tower, which is very elegant and unusual in design, is divided into three stories; the first, entered on the south side by a tall pointed arch with rich mouldings, continuous into the arch without imposts, forms a porch. The next is a small chamber, lighted by one small ogee-shaped window in the south wall, from which the bells were rung, instead of from the porch as at present. The third is the belfry, and has three pointed windows, divided into two lights, with trefoiled heads, by a slender mullion, and in the apex a small cusped tracery light. The parapet is battlemented, and has a plain pinnacle at every corner. On each face of the tower, except the north, are two boldly projecting buttresses of four stages. These are not at the corners, but midway between the belfry windows and the angle of the tower. From the general appearance of this tower it is certain that it was designed to stand alone, except where it joins the south wall of the nave. If the tower and chapels had been designed together, or if the tower and south-west chapel had been built together, there would have been no need for two ponderous buttresses on each face, which were so much in the way of the two chapels that the inner one on the east face has had to be cut away at the chapel roof* (doubtless when the latter was built), and the western one takes up so much space in the south-west chapel, that it would probably have shared the same fate but for the fact that its lower portion is also a staircase for the belfry.

By referring to the plan it will be obvious that the south-east chapel was made by continuing the first buttress of the chancel and the outer buttress of the tower till they met, and as the tower buttress is thinner than the chancel buttress and the chapel wall was made as thick as the latter was wide (with rough materials it is easier to build a thick wall than a thin one), the consequence has been that the south wall of the chapel projects considerably from the line of the tower buttress.

This chapel is a small oblong, its lean-to roof covered with lead hidden by a battlemented parapet, and opens out of the nave by a plain pointed arch similar to those of the nave arcade. It has two windows, that in the east wall is of three cinquefoiled lights, under a nearly semi-circular head. It contains some fifteenth century glass in good preservation, and in the lower part the arms of Fitzherbert impaling Bothe. The south window is almost identical in shape but slightly smaller. It is also filled with good stained glass of the same date, and the arms of Fitzherbert impaling Ludlow. The other chapel in the south-west angle of the tower and nave is very similar, but retains its original lean-to timber roof. It has only one large window of four lights in the south wall. The head

* This roof has been renewed in recent times.

is segmental in shape and very flat, being only about a third of a semi-circle. The old glass has all been removed into the east window of the chancel. The arch into nave is like that of the south-east chapel. Another indication that it was not built or designed with the tower is in the fact that the newel staircase is lighted by a loop over the tomb of John Fitzherbert, which when the only window of the chapel was filled with stained glass, would scarcely have been of any use. Moreover the whole south wall of the chapel has tilted away from the tower at the western end, and the result is a wide crack between the buttress and wall, which crack follows the stages of the buttress, and it can be seen that so far from having been built together, the masonry has not even been bonded, except in the case of one stone. It may also be noted that where the west wall of the chapel meets that of the nave, there is what architects call a straight joint. Another indication is that the colours of the stone used in the two parts are quite different. The tower is built of red sandstone in large squared blocks, while the nave, clerestory, and both chapels are of fine pale grey stone, much less regular in size.

The clerestory has four windows, two on the north, and one on each side of the tower. They are all square headed, with hood mouldings over them, and have each three lights cinquefoiled. Both clerestory and chapels have embattled parapets less plain in character than those of the tower.

From the above and other evidences, my impression is that when Nicholas Fitzherbert reconstructed the nave and north aisle and added the clerestory, the tower was already there, erected perhaps by some previous rector; that shortly before his death (1473) the chapel on the south-east was founded by him, and that on the south-west by his grandson John, about 1500. Mr. Cox incidentally mentions that the will of John Fitzherbert directs that his body shall be buried "under the newe made arche beneathe the Steple," and he may have taken this to mean that the steeple had been recently built, but it will be seen by the ground plan that the "newe" sepulchral arch was not recessed in the wall of the tower, but projected from it, as though built against it. The space between the tomb and the wall is now occupied by broken masonry, which has every appearance of having been the site of the arched recess at the back of the tomb, but the tower wall is quite undisturbed.

It may be mentioned here that there is a board in this chantry with a painted inscription, as follows:—"Thomas Williams, in his will dated 26th January, 1687, devised to the Rev. Anthony Trollope, Rector of Norbury, Godfrey Meynell Esq., and Christopher Ley, Gentleman, and their heirs, two closes called Bills Nether Meadow, and the Under Town Intack, in trust for the maintenance of a schoolmaster to teach in the Parish Church of Norbury, Roston, and Snelstone,* and whenever there should be no schoolmaster for teaching children

* Norbury is the parish church of all three places.

as aforesaid, then during such vacancy he directed that the profits of the aforesaid closes should be for the Poor of Roston and Snelstone, to be disposed of amongst them at the direction of the Parson of Norbury, for the time being, etc." It is perhaps worth recording as giving the ancient names of two fields, and as an instance of a school being held in the parish church. Of this practice there were cases even down to recent times. As late as the year 1860 a school was held in the parish church of Llanbistre, in Radnorshire, and many others could no doubt be named. Possibly the practice arose from the "King's Injunctions," published in the first of Edward VI., in which it was directed "that all Chantry Priests should exercise themselves in teaching youth to read and write, and bringing them up in good manners and other virtuous exercises." The most natural place for this, in the absence of other public buildings, would be the one where the priest was accustomed to officiate, and very often to reside.

Turning now to the monumental remains, by far the most important is the series of memorials to the Fitzherbert family, and of these the earliest is a large freestone effigy, slightly raised from the chancel floor, representing a knight in complete chain armour.* The body is covered by a hauberk of mail, with sleeves terminating in gloves of mail divided into fingers, a hood of mail is drawn over the head and fastened across the forehead with a strap. The legs and feet are protected by chausses of mail, over which are large plain knee-caps, and at the ancles pointed or pryck spurs. Over all is a loose surcoat confined at the waist by a narrow strap, and open below, showing the hauberk slit up in front for convenience in riding. A strap passes over the right shoulder and sustains a shield which hangs on the left side. His sword is suspended by a very broad diagonal belt, and he is grasping it by the hilt with his right hand. His head rests upon two cushions, the upper one lozenge shaped, and his feet upon a lion. This is the effigy of Sir Henry Fitzherbert, fifth Lord of Norbury. He rebuilt part of the adjoining manor-house, of which considerable remains exist, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and died in the reign of Edward II.

Near to this, on the north side of the chancel, is an alabaster slab, with the figure of a lady incised upon it, her head upon two cushions. She wears the horned or mitred head-dress (but without the veil which was usually worn over it), and a long mantle. The stone is much worn, but enough of the marginal inscription is decipherable to show that it marks the tomb of Alice Bothe, first wife of Nicholas Fitzherbert, who died about the middle of the fifteenth century. (Plate 2.)

The monument to Sir Nicholas is the next in order of date. It consists of a very highly finished altar-tomb of alabaster, with the recumbent effigy of Sir Nicholas on the upper slab, small upright ones of his two wives, in canopied compartments on the west end, and of his seventeen children in similar ones on

* See right hand of view of interior.

Plate II

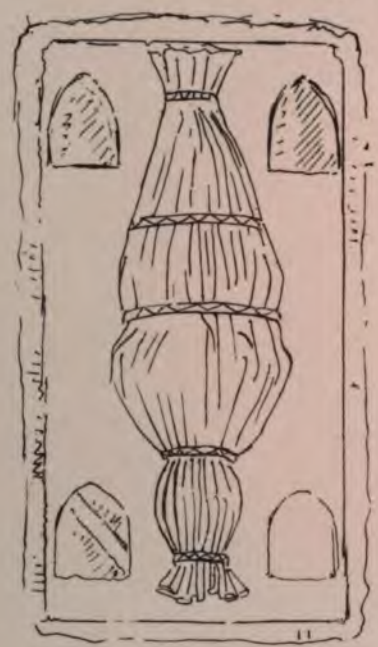
Small figure from the tomb of Ralph Fitzherbert and to be Richard a knight of Juvers

Small figure from tomb of Ralph Fitzherbert

Small figure from tomb of Nicholas Fitzherbert

Slab to Alice Fitzherbert

Details of collar of suns & roses from figure of Nicholas Fitzherbert



Slab to Elizabeth Fitzherbert

the two sides. He is represented with his head bare, resting on a tilting helm, surmounted by a clenched gauntlet as crest, and wearing the collar of suns and roses (Plate 2), and a lion pendant, founded by Edward IV. He is in plate armour, showing some features peculiar to the latter part of the fifteenth century. A collar of mail encircles the neck, the skirt of taces or horizontal plates attached to the lower edge of the breast plate has the separate plates escalloped, the pointed plates, called tuiles, buckled to the skirt, show the edge of an apron of mail between them. The hands are upraised on the breast, and protected by gauntlets having large overlapping plates on the backs, and separate pieces of steel for the fingers. The various plates of the arms and legs are ribbed and invected, the knee-caps *(genouillieres)* have pointed plates above and below them, and the plates which cover the feet *(sollerets)* are acutely pointed. The sword is suspended by a diagonal belt, ornamented with flowers, the pommel has a small shield in relief, the hilt is covered with interlacing cords, and the scabbard has a rich crocketed ornament at the top.

On the north face of the tomb are the figures of eight of the sons. 1.—Counting from the east, is a youth in armour, over which he wears a mantle, which has been painted black, and has an eight-pointed cross in relief on the left shoulder. (Plate 2.) The mantle is fastened across the chest by a cord, which is passed through its edges, and the ends of which hang down in front. The armour is earlier in character than that of the large effigy, the separate plates of the shirt of taces overlapping upwards are quite plain and very clearly shown, and there is no indication of the apron of mail.

I have no doubt that this son was a Knight Hospitaller. The habit of their Order was a black mantle, with an eight-pointed cross of white linen on the side next the heart.* Probably he was a Brother of the Preceptory of St. John the Baptist and the Blessed Virgin Mary, at Yeavelly, four miles from Norbury, where the ruins of the chapel and the foundations of other buildings are still visible, and of very great interest.

2.—A civilian in skull cap, tippet, and long gown, holding a scroll in his left hand. Probably a lawyer.

3.—An ecclesiastic with tonsured head. He is habited in a cassock reaching to his feet, a rosary is attached to his girdle, and under his left arm is a book. A kind of scarf hangs over his shoulders, and is attached by a rosette in front of the right shoulder. This was sometimes worn as part of the ordinary dress of the clergy, instead of the hood and cape, about this period and later.

4.—A civilian in gown. Head gone.

5.—A civilian in gown, showing traces of red, fastened at the waist with a belt.

---

* Mr. Cox says of this figure "(1) a man in armour with a cross patée on the left shoulder." This is an error, as the cross is of the shape now known as the Maltese cross, it having been worn by the Knights of Malta or Knights Hospitallers. The cross patée is quite different.

6.—A civilian in long gown, with collar and waist belt, to which is hooked a gypcière, or pouch, and some other object now broken away, probably a rosary. The gypcière, which about this period superseded the anelace or knife, was made of leather stitched to a metal frame, and suspended from the belt by a broad metal hook.

7.—A civilian in a flowing red gown, without belt, holding a scroll and wearing a collar of suns and roses, with heraldic lion pendant.

8.—Civilian in loose gown, without belt. He wears a collar of suns and roses, with pendant like the last. His hands are upheld, with the palms out.

On the south side are, counting from the west:

1.—A civilian in gown, with waist belt and gypcière having three tassels.

2.—A civilian in a red gown and a knife in his girdle.

3.—Two girls dressed alike, viz., the hair is worn long over the shoulders, and confined at the top of the head by a double fillet, which has an ornamental flower or jewel. Unmarried ladies were generally represented with this mode of head-dress, but not invariably. They have long gowns, low at the neck and tight at the sleeves, painted red, and gloves which have been painted black.

4.—A lady in a low dress, with waist belt, also a girdle with rosary. Her head-dress is peculiar, consisting of a conical head piece pointed at top with a broad band round the lower edge.

5.—A girl similar to those at 3.

6.—A nun with long gown, a barbe or chin-cloth, veil over the head, a black cloak, a book under the left arm, and a very large rosary.

7.—A girl similar to those at 3.

8.—A lady with same head-dress as 4, also a girdle and rosary.

On the west end are figures of two ladies: the one on the left is attired nearly the same as 4. The other wears the mourning habit, which was the same as that of a nun, consisting of a long gown with rosary at the waist, barbe or chin-cloth, and veil head-dress. These are doubtless the two wives of Nicholas, and probably the one in mourning is the widow Isabel Ludlow, in which case the other would be Alice Bothe: Nicholas died in 1473.

On the other side of the chancel is another altar-tomb, with large effigies of a knight and lady on the top, and small ones of their fourteen children round the sides. This is the tomb of Ralph Fitzherbert, son of Sir Nicholas.* He is attired in plate armour, in many respects similar to the last. His head is uncovered, showing his long hair, but his collar of mail is more ornamental, and his apron of mail has vandyked edges, the left or bridle arm is more heavily armoured than the right or sword arm, and gussets of mail are shown at the instep. There are loops of ribbon at the elbow plates, and the sword is supported by a rich diagonal sword belt, and the dagger by a horizontal one.

---

* See view of interior.

The lady wears the horned head-dress of the later and more acutely pointed style, and over it the veil, which hangs down behind and touches the shoulders on each side. Her head rests upon two cushions, supported by angels. She wears a tight-sleeved kirtle with a broad band round the bottom, below which is another gown painted green. Round the waist is a girdle, studded with a four-petalled flower, and rosary attached. Over the kirtle is a mantle, looped across the breast by a cord, which hangs down in front. Round the neck is a necklet with a vine pattern and Virgin and Child pendant.

The sides of this tomb are covered with canopies, containing on the south seven sons, and on the north eight daughters. The first of the sons at the west end is in plate armour, and wears over it a long flowing mantle, looped across the chest by a cord. (Plate 2.) His armour is somewhat different to that of the other armed figures. He has an upright collar of mail, which reaches well over the breast plate. The tuiles are larger, and buckled with two straps; below them the vandyked edges of the skirt of mail are visible, and his sword has a straight cross guard.

Mr. Cox says of this figure, "A man in armour and a mantle of the Knights of Rhodes;" and afterwards mentions that Richard, one of the sons, was a Knight of Rhodes. Traces of black paint on the mantle seem to confirm this, and probably the white cross, which should have been on the left shoulder, was painted instead of carved in relief, as in the earlier tomb. It is likely that he also belonged to the Preceptory of Knights Hospitallers at Yeavelly, Knights of Rhodes being one of their numerous titles of honour.

2.—An ecclesiastic with head tonsured. He wears a long cassock which has been scarlet, over it the dalmatic, and over that a tippet with hood attached. Probably this represents Thomas, a son who is mentioned by Cox as a D.C.L., and rector of North Wingfield. The cassock was the ordinary dress of the clergy when not engaged in sacred offices, and the scarlet cassock is said to have belonged to Doctors of Divinity. A kind of tippet called a mozetta was worn by Doctors of Canon Law in mediæval times. It seems curious that he should wear the dalmatic instead of the surplice, which worn over the cassock, is not uncommon in effigies of members of collegiate bodies; but there is not much doubt as to which vestment is shown, as the figure is well preserved, and the dalmatic slit up the sides, but apparently not fringed, is clearly defined.

3.—A figure with long hair, wearing a tight-sleeved tunic, fastened with a girdle at the waist, and over it a long gown with wide short sleeves. At his girdle a pouch and a long knife in front. On the left shoulder a large circular hat with a kind of veil hanging from it nearly to his feet. No doubt a pilgrim or palmer.

4.—A civilian in long dark red gown, open at the breast, where it shows a ribbed under garment, and below where it shows his right leg with tight-fitting hose and low shoe not continuous. Hooked to his girdle is the gypcière or pouch.

5.—A boy with collarless undercoat, and gown reaching to his feet, without seam or fastening in front, and long tight sleeves.

6.—Two boys dressed like No. 4, with girdles, but no pouch or knife. One holds the arm of the other.

On the north side are, counting from the east:

1.—A lady with hair long and head bare. She wears a low dress with bodice slit open in front and laced across. A long girdle hangs down in front.

2.—A lady with horned head-dress like the large effigy. The veil or kerchief hanging on each side. A low dress girded at the waist and flowing below, shows a dark green under-skirt.

3.—A girl with very long hair, a low dress, a girdle with tassels hanging down on the left side, and a rosary on the right.

4.—Two girls, one with hair long. The other with the pointed head-dress like the large figure, a long tight-fitting dress painted red, and a rosary to the belt. Their arms entwined.

5.—Two girls, one with long hair and her bodice laced across the front. The other has a pointed head-dress like No. 2, and a long gown, square at the neck, where it has a wide border, and confined at the waist by a belt. It has been painted red, and shows an under-dress painted dark green. She wears gloves, and a cloak hanging from the right shoulder.

6.—A lady with head dress like No. 2. She wears a short sleeved kirtle, low at the neck and fitting tight to the body. Over this is a mantle, fastened across the breast by a tasselled cord, which in the dress itself would probably pass through two metal loops with studs in front; one of these studs is visible in the effigy. The ends of the cord hang down in front, and are held together by an ornamental clasp. (Plate 2.)

The east end of the tomb is blank, the west has three canopies, each containing an angel holding an uncharged shield. They are in albs, having their hair long and wear gilt crowns with a cross in front.*

In the south-west chapel, which is used as a lumber room and nearly full of coal and timber, is a plain alabaster tomb, with a brass plate let into the upper slab containing a short Latin inscription. It commemorates John Fitzherbert, eldest son of Ralph, and gives the date of his death on the vigil of Saint James, the Apostle, in 1513. There has been an arch over it, and it is surrounded by iron railings, but it is of no special interest except as the only one of the Fitzherbert monuments which retains its original position. Perhaps there was a reason for the extreme plainness of this altar-tomb. From its position in the east end of the chapel it seems likely that it may have served as an altar at the masses said for the soul of the deceased. There is a piscina of excellent design in the wall at the south end of it, and somewhat similar ones in the east wall of the north aisle and in the north-east chapel.

* See view of interior.

Near the altar steps of the chancel there is an alabaster slab, said to commemorate Elizabeth, wife of Ralph Fitzherbert. It has an incised representation of a corpse tied up in a shroud, and coats of arms at each corner. (Plate 2.) It has no effigy, probably because she is sculptured on the tomb of her husband. Only a few words of the marginal inscription, which was in English, can be deciphered, but Lyson's notes, quoted in "Churches of Derbyshire," give a fragment of it in which the date is 1491.

In the centre of the chancel is a very large blue slab containing the effigies, in brass, of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, the celebrated judge, and his second wife, Maude. At the head of the slab is a coat of arms, a group of daughters below the figures, and the matrix from which the group of sons is missing, and near the bottom a long Latin epitaph, said to have been composed by Sir Anthony Fitzherbert himself. Round the margin was an English inscription, of which the following only remains: " . . . . men benche and sometime . . . . trone of thys town . . . . ton of Hamsatalt Rydware." The figure of the judge is complete except the head, and shows him attired in a long and ample robe, reaching to the feet, and holding a scroll in his hand. Only three figures of judges with scrolls exist, one of them is Thomas Holte, in Aston Church. The figure of Maude Fitzherbert is a good instance of the heraldic mantle. It shows, as was customary at that period, the arms of the husband on the dexter, and those of the wife on the sinister side. She wears the pedimental head-dress with kerchief, and a gown fastened by a girdle, from the buckle of which hang two ornamental chains. Both these figures show considerable evidence of the deterioration of brasses which had taken place before the sixteenth century. Instead of the bold and expressive lines of earlier ones, the figures and draperies are rendered by straight and formal lines, and feeble cross hatching. The group of daughters is in this respect vastly superior to the larger figures. Indeed it is the best group of children I remember on a brass, as they are generally crammed into a straight row, without any attempt at arrangement. The eldest daughter has a heraldic mantle with the arms of Fitzherbert and Cotton, of Hamstall Ridware. This brass was discovered by Mr. Cox to be a most interesting instance of the palimpsest or re-used brass. The epitaph plate, the one containing the daughters and a portion of the marginal strips, are loose, and it can be seen that they have previously been put to a similar use, and have parts of older incised figures on their reverse sides. On the back of the daughters' plate is a beautiful little figure of a monk under a canopy, with the back ground covered with a diapered pattern, and along one edge the letters L.L. E:G. I in Lombardic characters, there are some more letters in the same style on one of the marginal strips, and on one of the plates of the epitaph is part of a figure in long flowing drapery, with folded hands, showing at the wrist the close sleeves of an under-garment. Mr. Cox says of them: "These three pieces have doubtless formed part of a large Flemish quadrangular brass, with small figures in niches round the central

figure, of the thirteenth or fourteenth century," The monk and the Lombardic letters certainly show an unmistakeably early character, and no doubt belong to the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century; but the portion with the folded hands is as different as possible, and quite as unmistakeably of late workmanship. The forms of the figure and drapery are given with thin lines of uniform width, and are as straight, and meagre, and meaningless, as the other is flowing, and free, and expressive. At the time of my visit the figure of the judge had become loose, and on the back I found another fragment, part of an extremely large figure, showing a quantity of flowing robe, a foot and the head of a lion on which it rests. The execution of this piece is very good, and quite as early in character as the monk, many of the lines tapering from three-eighths of an inch in width to a fine point. On the reverse of the other part of the epitaph plate is a fragment of another Latin epitaph, of which Mr. Cox says that it belongs apparently to the tomb of a prior of the sixteenth century. I think there can be no reasonable doubt that the piece with folded hands, which he speaks of as Flemish, is a portion of this same tomb (the sixteenth century prior's); and that the larger piece on the reverse of the judge is a portion of a thirteenth century Flemish brass to an abbot or prior (of which the monk formed part of the surrounding canopy), what remains of the drapery resembling a monastic habit. It is not so wonderful, as it seems, that fragments from two tombs of monastic dignitaries should have been re-used in the slab to Anthony Fitzherbert, as the churches of the dissolved monasteries were often so quickly destroyed, that the monumental brasses, etc. would find their way to workers in such material in a very short time. Very probably if the figure of Maude Fitzherbert were taken up, it would discover other portions which would throw additional light on the subject.

Sir Anthony was the greatest lawyer of his time, and an author of considerable eminence. His work on agriculture, written in Latin, can be read in our own Reference Library. This is the last of the Fitzherbert monuments of any beauty or interest. The family became involved soon after this period in serious calamities, from their devoted adherence to the ancient religion, and lost for a time much of their Derbyshire possessions. They ceased to live at Norbury in 1648.

One other tomb remains to be described. Part of the pavement on the south side of the chancel is a very large alabaster slab, incised with the effigy of a priest in the eucharistic vestments and holding a chalice in his hands. (Plate I.) The slab is broken and the marginal inscription damaged, but the effigy is well preserved, and is executed with that freedom and boldness of line which is so often found in incised slabs. Above it is a low triple canopy with the small figure of an angel under the centre pediment. The head of the priest shows the tonsure, and rests on a cushion tasselled at the corners. The vestments shown are the albe with apparel, the stole, maniple and chasuble, but not the amice; he appears to

wear instead a hood or tippet, which is peculiar. This is the tomb of Henry Prynce, who was rector from 1466 to 1500.

In Mr. Cox's book the inscription is given as:—". . . . Henry Prynce . . . . de novo edificavit et tectu cancelli cu . . . . monumento fieri fecit et (m)ulta alia bona huic . . . . et obiit."

By a careful examination of the stone I have been able to decipher it more fully and accurately, as follows:—". . . . ET DOMINUS HENRĪC PRYNCE . . . . NDĀ RECTOR HUĪ ECCLESIE QUI . . . . RECTORIE DE NOUO EDIFICAUIT ET TECTŪ CANCELLI CŪ S . . . . T MONUMENTO ✻ FIERI FECIT ET INTER ALIA BONA HUIC E . . . . CĀPANARŪ 2TULIT ET OBIIT." This, without the abbreviations and gaps, would be "Hic jacet dominus henricus prynce quondam Rector hujus ecclesie qui . . . . rectorie de novo edificavit et tectum cancelli cum et . . . . monumento fieri fecit et inter alia bona huic ecclesie campanarum contulit et obiit." "Here lies Sir Henry Prince, formerly rector of this church who . . . . rectory rebuilt and the roof of the chancel with . . . . monument caused to be made and among other good things to this church the bells conferred and died." . . . .

On each side of the figure towards the bottom of the slab is an incised mark, like a sprig of a conventional flower. It is probably the mark of the artist. There are similar marks on the best of the miserere carvings in Ludlow Church.

Solihull Church.

[*An Address on the Church of Solihull was delivered to the Members of the Section, by the rector of the parish, the Rev. Canon Evans, M.A., on the 8th of March, 1882, the substance of which has been published in a disconnected form, at intervals extending over five or six years, in the "Solihull Parish Magazine." The following account is not a verbatim record of this Address, but has been gathered carefully from the "Magazine," and is here presented as a comprehensive description of one of the finest and most interesting churches in Warwickshire. The architectural description of the fabric is by Mr. J. Oldrid Scott. A history of the church and a description of the monuments by the late Mr. J. Fetherston, will be found in the first number of the "Warwickshire Antiquarian Magazine."*]

By Rev. CANON EVANS, M.A.

N Dugdale's "History of Warwickshire," that part of the history of Solihull relating to the church is as follows:—

"The church (dedicated to S. *Alphage*) was *in an.* 1291 (19 *E.* I.) valued at xxx. marks, over and above two marks, which were yearly payd out of it to the Priory of **Bertford** (of *Limsie's* Foundation, as I have already shewed.) But in 26 H. 8, the value thereof, over and above the said *Pension* of two marks *per an.* to the Prior of **Bertford,** xxiid. yearly Rent to the *Chantry* here at **Solihull,** and xis. xd. paid annually to the Bishop and Archdeacon, for *Synodalls* and *Procurations*, was certified to be xxiiii l. xviii s. iiii d."

Here follows the list of 'Patroni Ecclesiæ' and 'Incumbentes' from 1286 to 1570.

"The Chantrie.

"There was a *chantry* founded in E. I time by Sir *Will de Odingsells*, Kt., for one Priest to celebrate Divine Service for ever in this Church, for

the health of the souls of *Will de Odingsells*, and *Joane*, his wife, father and mother to the said *Sir Will*, as also for his own soul, with the souls of his progenitors, Children, and all the faithfull deceased: for maintenance of which Priest he gave, with consent of *Joan*, his mother, and *Raph de Limesi*, then her husband, certain Houses and land situate near to St. *Alphag's* Well, within this Lordship, and iii. *l.* yearly Rent, payable by severall of his Tenants here, whose names are exprest in the grant. Which Priest was successively to be presented by the said Sir *Will* and his heirs to the Bishop of **Coventre** and **Lich** for the time being, and by him to be instituted to the said *Chantry*. In augmentation of whose maintenance the said *Raph de Limesi*, and *Joane*, his wife, gave five marks yearly Rent issuing out of certain lands lying in **Cotes** (now called **Coton**) and **Merston** juxta **Kingsbury**, in 5 E. I."

"To this *Chantry*, in H. 4 time, did likewise *Will Hawe*, and others, give one Messuage and *xl.* acres of land, lying also here in **Solihull**, called *Caldeford's* Tenement, to the end that the Chantry Priest, for the time being, should celebrate Divine Service for the souls of *Hugh le De Spenser*, and *Sibill*, his wife, before specified: but the grant being made without License obtained from the K., the said lands became forfeited, and were in 14 H. 4 bestowed upon *John Birkyn*, one of the yeomen of the Larder to the K., to hold during life."

"How the means belonging hereunto came to be so diminished appears not; but in 16 H. 6, upon the addition of Lx s. more yearly Rent, by one *Thomas Greswould*, it appears that the maintenance was so slender, that no Priest did then serve therein; which Annuity he the said *Thomas* gave, that the Priest officiating there, should sing Masse every day for the good estate of the said K. H. 6 and of the same *Thomas Greswould*, and for their souls after their departure hence; as also for the souls of the Father and Mother of the said *Thomas*, and all the Benefactors thereunto. So that in 26 H. 8, the value thereof was found to be *Cxiiii. s. per an.* over and above *xviii. s.* yearly Rent, payd out of it to severall persons: and in 37 H. 8, vi. *l.* xvi. *s.* vi. *d. per an.* over and above all Reprizes; at which time the Chantrie Priest serving here, did, upon occasion, assist the Parson in ministring the Sacraments; in regard that the Parish was spacious, and contained 700 Communicants."

"This *Chantrie* was called the *Chantrie* of **Baliwell**; the reason whereof I conceive to be, because the Houses given thereto by Sir *Will de Odingsells*, at the first Foundation thereof, did stand near S. *Alphage* his *Well;* but it was in a Chapell on the North side of the Church of **Solihull**, called *libera Capella S. Alphegi.*"

"One thing more I shall observe, before I passe from this Church, *viz.*, that in 13 E. 3, one *Will de Stow*, a Priest, and Parson of **Solihull**, gave xii. acres of land, and six acres of meadow, to the succeeding Rectors here, for the finding of two wax Candles burning therein every day, at the celebration of Masse, and two Torches alwayes, at the elevation of the Host."

The following list of incumbents extends from John Feckenham to the present date:—

John Feckenham (Howman), instituted	1544.
Thomas Barnes, instituted	1554.
Thomas Chambers, instituted	1557.
William Hubawd, instituted	1558.
William Barnes, instituted	1558.
John Bavand, instituted	1560.
Henry Smyth, instituted	1570.
Luke Smith, instituted	?
Giles Astley, instituted	1646?
Robert Ladbroke, instituted	1647.
John Ley, instituted	1656.
Henry Greswold, instituted	1660.
Zaccheus Isham, instituted	1701.
Andrew Archer, instituted...	1705.
Joseph Stockwell, instituted	1729.
Edward Welchman, instituted	1736.
William Greenwood, instituted	1739.
Richard Sutton Yates, instituted...	1769.
Charles Curtis, instituted	1789.
Archer Clive, instituted	1829.
Patrick Murray Smythe, instituted	1847.
Charles Evans, instituted	1872.

The list is probably defective in respect of the interval between 1570 and 1647. Dugdale indeed in his "History of Warwickshire" (Ed. Thomas), makes Robert Ladbroke, in 1647, succeed Henry Smyth, who was instituted in 1570. It appears, however, from a report of an inquisition into the Solihull Charities, held in the 14th year of Charles I., that at that time, 1638, Luke Smith was rector, and it may reasonably be inferred that two incumbencies did not cover the whole period of seventy-seven years but that at least one, if not more names ought to be added to the list.* Among the rectors foremost in time and fame stands John Howman, better known as Abbot Feckenham, of whom Fuller has left us a quaint record. "The same year, 1585, John Fecknam, late Abbot of Westminster, ended his life, whereon we must enlarge ourselves, if not for his, for history sake, seeing he was a landmark therein. His personall experience being a chronicle, who like the axiltree stood firme and fixed in his own judgment; whilst the times like the wheels turned backwards and forwards

* In the sixth report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS. there is a calendar of documents in the House of Lords, among which, on page 113, is mentioned "a draft ordinance for the appointment of Giles Astley to be rector of Solihull, in Warwickshire." This document bears the date of April 25, 1646. No trace of his incumbency, however, has been found in our local records.

round about him. He was born in Worcestershire, in the Forest of Fecknam, whence he fetcht his name. Bred a Benedictine Monke in the Abbey of Evesham, he afterwards studied in Oxford, then applied himself first to Bell, Bishop of Worcester, and after his death, to Bonner, of London, where he crossed the Proverb, 'like Master, like Man,' the patron being cruel, the chaplain kinde to such who in judgment dissented from him; he never dissembled his religion, being a zealous Papist, and under King Edward VI. suffered much for his conscience."

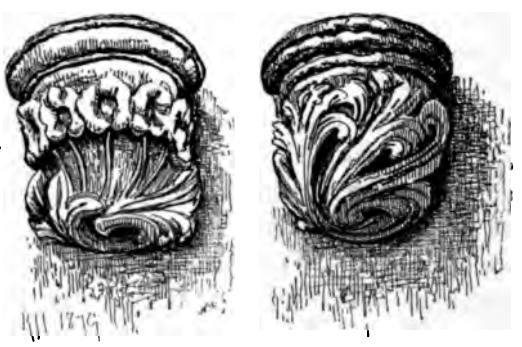
[He was indeed imprisoned in the Tower, where by means of contributions from some of his fellow prisoners he raised a fund for the benefit of the poor of Solihull. On the accession of Queen Mary he was raised from his dungeon to the Deanery of St. Paul's, and then to the restored Abbacy of Westminster, where "my Lord Abbot was consecrated in the Abbey, and there was great company, and he was made abbot, and did wear a mitre, and my Lord Cardinal (Pole) was there and many Bishops, and my Lord Chancellor (Gardiner) did sing mass, and the abbot made the sermon, and my Lord Treasurer was there." A few days afterwards Abbot Feckenham "marched in procession with his convent. Before him went all the monastery men with cross keys upon their garments, and after went three homicides," as if for the sake of asserting the rights of sanctuary. The young nobleman, Lord Dacre, walked with a sheet about him, and was whipped as he went. With him was the low-born murderer of the tailor in Longacre, and the small Westminster scholar who had slain a "big boy" that sold papers in Westminster Hall, by hurling a stone, which hit him under the ear.]

"In the reign of Queen Mary he was wholy imployed in doing good offices for the afflicted Protestants, from the highest to the lowest. The Earle of Bedford and (who afterwards were) of Warwick and Leicester, tasted of his kindnesse; so did Sir John Cheek, yea, and the Lady Elizabeth herself; so interposing his interest with Queen Mary for her enlargement, that he incurred her Grace's displeasure. Queen Elizabeth coming to the Crown, sent for Abbot Fecknam to come to her, whom the messenger found setting of Elmes in the Orchard of Westminster Abbey. But he would not follow the messenger until first he had finished his plantation, which his friends impute to his soul imployed in mysticall meditations, that as the trees he there set should spring and sprout many years after his decease, so his new plantation of Benedictine Monks in Westminster should take root and flourish in defiance of all opposition. Sure I am those monks long since are extirpated, but how his trees thrive at this day is to me unknown. Coming afterwards to the queen, what discourse passed betwixt them they themselves know alone, some have confidently guessed she proffered him the arch-bishoprick of Canterbury, on condition he would conform to her laws, which he utterly refused. He built a conduit in Holborn, and a cross in Wisbeeich (where he died a prisoner), and relieved the poor wheresoever

he came. So that flies flock not thicker about spilt honey, than beggars constantly crouded about him."

MR. J. O. SCOTT'S DESCRIPTION OF THE CHURCH.

"This very interesting church consists of a nave with aisles, a central tower and spire, north and south transepts, and a very fine chancel, which is its most striking feature. To the north of the chancel is a building of two stories, each of which has formed a chapel. The style of the chancel is Early Decorated, of a very beautiful and peculiar type, dating from the end of the thirteenth century. It is on a large scale, being fifty-four feet long by twenty-two feet broad. The east window has five lights and interlacing tracery, with cusped heads and spandrils. The side windows are of two lights each, cusped in a peculiar manner, the arch being filled in with a sexfoil opening of unusual and beautiful design. There are windows on each side of the chancel, somewhat irregularly disposed. Externally, they are distinct from each other, but internally all are connected, either by arrangement in pairs or by their labels being continued from one window to another, and formed into cusped arches; these contained statues, the carved brackets for which still remain, and are particularly good specimens of late Early English foliage. All the details of the work are admirable, and though generally simple, possess much character. There are sufficient remains of the original stained glass to show its design — it is as good in quality as all the other parts of this interesting work. There is a priest's door in the south wall of the chancel, towards the west end. At the east end is a piscina with the usual shelf, and sedilia, the former being treated ornamentally with a cusped arch and crocketed gable, but the latter consists only of a stone seat arranged on three levels. As the string course running above it is complete, it is clear that if there were ever any canopies to the seats they must have been of wood. On the north side are the remains of a somewhat similar projection, which has been described as an Easter sepulchre, but too little remains to judge by with certainty."



"On the north side of the chancel is the two-storied building to which I have alluded; its arrangement is very peculiar. Both chambers are approached from the chancel, from which there are two doorways, side by side, but differing much in design and in height, one of them leading to the lower chapel, which is some feet below the floor of the chancel, and the other by a steep flight of steps to the upper one. Two windows opened from the chancel into the latter—which was dedicated to St. Alphege. They differ somewhat from the other windows in level

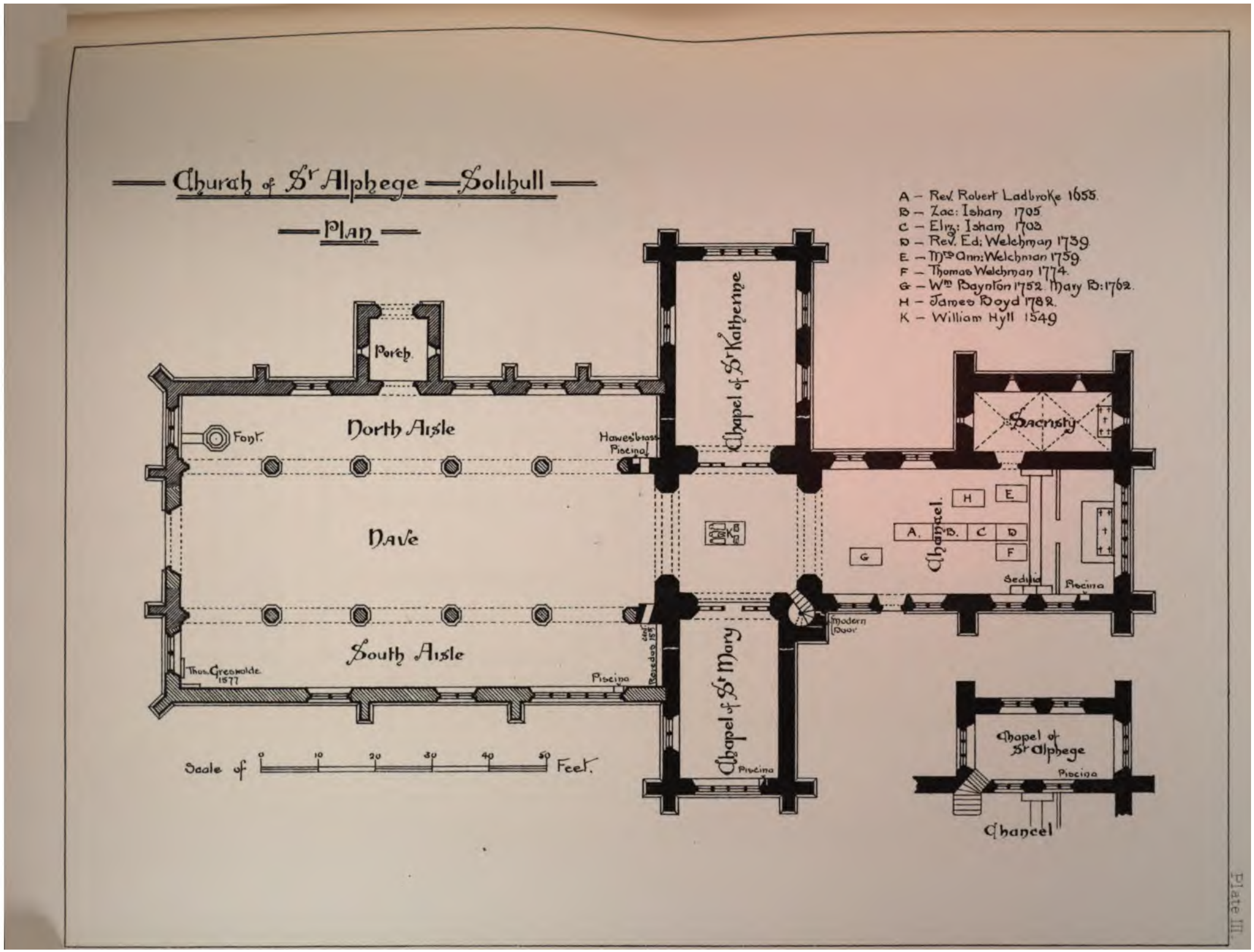
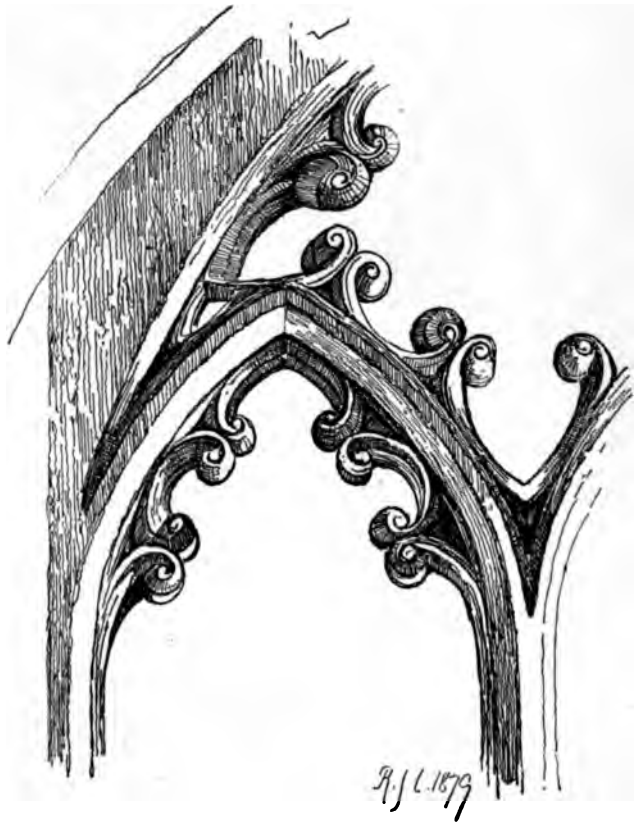

Church of St Alphege Solihull
Plan
A – Rev. Robert Ladbroke 1655.
B – Zac: Isham 1705
C – Eliz: Isham 1703
D – Rev. Ed: Welchman 1739
E – Mrs Ann: Welchman 1759
F – Thomas Welchman 1774.
G – Wm Baynton 1752. Mary B: 1762.
H – James Boyd 1782.
K – William Hyll 1549
Porch.
North Aisle
Font.
Hawes' brass
Piscina
Chapel of St Katherine
Sacristy
Chancel.
H
E
A.
B.
C
D
F
G
K
Sedilia
Piscina
Nave
Modern door
South Aisle
Thos. Greswolde 1577
Piscina
Reredos 15th cent.
Chapel of St Mary
Piscina
Chapel of St Alphege
Piscina
Chancel
Scale of
0
10
20
30
40
50
Feet.

Plate III.

and design, the tracery being central in the wall, and each face, towards the chancel and towards the chapel being treated alike, with a rear arch. This I think proves that this upper story, as well as the lower one, formed part of the original design of the chancel. These two windows were at one time glazed, but are now blocked up. There is nothing to show whether the glazing was original, or whether it was done afterwards for the sake of convenience. This chapel is abundantly lighted, for besides the borrowed light it once received from the chancel, it has two windows in the north wall, in all respects like the side windows of the chancel, including the cusped treatment of the labels, while each end wall is filled by a three-light window, somewhat similar in design to the east window of the chancel. The other features of this chapel are a doorway in the south-west angle, and a piscina; the whole is very beautiful and full of interest."

"The lower chapel, which was probably the sacristy, is vaulted, and was lighted by small cusped lancets in the end walls and the north side. Most of them are now blocked up, and might with much advantage be re-opened, as might also the larger windows I have described in the upper chapel. The floor is some feet above its old level, and I am told that a doorway in its west wall is thus hidden. I hope this may all soon be brought back to its original form. This chapel retains its old stone altar."

"As I have said, the chancel and its chapels were built towards the close of the thirteenth century. The exact date is not known, but it may be approximated thus; from the large number of points in which its details—which are very characteristic—closely resemble those in the chancel of Buxted Church, in Sussex, I am convinced that this must have been designed by the same hand. This Sussex chancel was built by John de Lewis, the first Rector of Buxted, in the year 1292, and thus the date of that at Solihull may be nearly arrived at. This resemblance in the details is very striking. They are not identical—indeed the work at Solihull is on a finer scale than that at Buxted, but the more closely I have examined the various parts, the more convinced have I been that they must have had a common designer. Thus, the tracery of the east window is identical with a single exception, although the sections of the mouldings in it differ. The very peculiar terminations of the cusps, which occur in the side windows at Solihull, are found on a larger scale in the sedilia at Buxted. The string courses inside and out, and the plinths and copings, are the same. The design of the piscina—which has some curious features—is all but alike in both examples; but what first attracted my attention, was the close resemblance of the carving, and the general feeling which pervades the whole work. Happily, the Church at Solihull has been far better preserved than in Sussex, the latter having suffered much in some recent alterations."



"Before passing on to the tower and transepts it becomes necessary to describe briefly what appears to have been the architectural history of the Church. This cannot be spoken of with certainty, as the evidences are imperfect, and somewhat conflicting. Apparently, the original Church consisted of a nave—which agreed in width with the present one, though shorter than it by one bay—of a north aisle, and a chancel. The evidence remaining of the old nave having had only one aisle, is that in the northern of the deep responds, at the east end of the present arcade, may be seen a portion of an arch, while in that opposite is part of a narrow lancet window. Whether or not there was a central tower or transepts, we have no proof, nor indeed whether the north aisle was original, or an early addition. The old nave terminated where the present one does, at its east end."

"Soon after the middle of the thirteenth century, it was determined to rebuild the Church on a much grander scale. As far as I can judge, a beginning was made with the transepts, but they were only built up to the top of the plinth, where the work was stopped for a time, and a new commencement was made, somewhat later, on the chancel, which was completed towards the end of the century. The exact age of the central tower is hard to fix; it was probably designed at the same time as the chancel, or very soon afterwards, but by another architect. Its mouldings belong to about the same period, but differ much in character. The tower, thus built, was one stage lower than it is at present, and was probably surmounted by a parapet and a wooden spire. Although the transepts themselves were still omitted, portions of their east and west walls were carried up with the tower, to afford the necessary abutment to its arches. Traces of this are distinctly visible. All this time, the old, humble nave remained, and a housing was prepared in the west wall of the new tower to receive its roof. During the first half of the fourteenth century, the north aisle wall was raised, and new windows belonging to that period were inserted, the porch being built at the same time, or rather later. I have found it difficult to determine the probable date of the completion of the transepts. The tracery of the side windows seems to agree in date with the chancel, but their outer orders and labels, as well as their internal arches, look later, and are far more like the corresponding features in the north aisle. On the whole, I am of opinion that the tracery was prepared when the chancel was built, or very shortly afterwards, but that it was not used until the transepts were built, towards the middle of the fourteenth century. Besides the alteration of the north aisle, the nave seems to have been lengthened to the west by one bay."

"The Perpendicular period saw great changes in the church. One of the first of these was the addition of a stage to the tower and the erection of a stone spire, which, however, was rebuilt in comparatively modern times. But the chief alteration was the reconstruction and enlargement of the nave. The old south wall and the north arcade were pulled down all but a few feet on each side

adjoining the tower, but happily enough was left to throw light on the original design of the church. New arcades, much loftier than the old ones, were erected on the north and south of the nave, the stones of the old arcades being reused in the new arches as far as they would go, these being now distinguished by their small size and darker colour. An aisle was added on the south side, and a new west front was built. At the east end, the aisles of the nave butt up against the transept walls, which in this church are not pierced with arches in the usual way. Their ends are further enclosed by the deep responds given to the arcades, the object being to form chapels, each of which at this time was completed, with a piscina and reredos. In the south chapel the reredos, which still remains, is of stone, the other being of wood, but of this we have only a

fragment. Another work of the fifteenth century was the rood screen, the elaborate parapet of which, till lately, formed the front of a gallery. The arrangement of this screen appears to have been peculiar. The lower part of a screen remains (apparently *in situ*) in the eastern arch of the tower, but the sill of another screen was found across the western arch. It seems to follow that it was double, and enclosed the space under the tower. Perhaps the loft extended over the same space, as in a few other instances. A seat is spoken of in the 'Baliff's Acc' as being 'under St. Georg his loft,' which suggests an arrangement such as this. The screens in the side arches of the tower remain."

"I have spoken of the alterations in the Perpendicular style as a whole, but they were not all carried out at the same time, and it is known that much work was done during the first half of the sixteenth century. The west window and some of those in the south aisle, as also the nave roof, may belong to this period. There are remains of woodwork of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the most striking of which are the doors to the screen at the entrance of the chancel. These, as well as some carving which has been used up in various ways, resemble Wren's work in some of the city churches. It is known that much woodwork was done in 1679, when a faculty was obtained for reseating the whole church."

"A few words more of description are required. The tower arches are bold in design, though not equal to the work in the chancel. The earlier belfry stage consists of double cusped lancets divided by transoms. The belfry, which was added in the fifteenth century, is very elegant in design. Each face of the tower has a pair of two-light windows, above which runs the parapet. The pinnacles were rebuilt in 1757, when the old spire fell and was replaced by the present one. The transepts have side windows of two lights, similar to those in the chancel. The nave has a lofty arcade, very simple in design, without a clerestory. The shafts are octagonal, but the western responds are well moulded, and are far better-looking in every way than the columns. This suggests the thought that the rebuilding of the nave began at the west end, and that there was an interval before the arcades themselves were erected. The nave roof is old. Its effect is very good, though the weakness of its construction has led to the south wall being pushed over rather seriously. The west window and door, as well as the west windows of the south aisle, are late in style, and somewhat peculiar in design, those in the north wall being two-light Decorated windows."

"The whole church will repay careful examination, having many points of very unusual interest, while its chancel is conspicuously beautiful, and in some respects is unique."

THE FONT.

Mr. Scott refers to the bailiff's accounts as containing a mention of a seat under "St. Georg his loft," and suggests that this loft may have been under the central tower. This conjecture is curiously confirmed by some entries in the Churchwardens' accounts. In 1625 there is a record of the receipt of xx *d.* for a seat "under ye Saint George his loft formerly belonging unto Mr. Thomas Huggeford;" in the accounts for "the xxiii rd. yere of the raigne of our Sovraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth the whole rome of the little Chancell on the northe side was assigned to Mr. Henry Hugforde," so that we may reasonably infer that the seat above mentioned as formerly belonging to the Hugforde family under ye Saint George his loft was in the "litel Chancell," which we know to have been under the central tower. In the recently published account of the Church of St. Laurence, Reading, the learned Editor states that there is a remarkably early instance of such an arrangement (as a loft for St. George's altar) at Compton Church, Surrey, where the eastern half of the chancel is divided into two stories by an original Norman gallery of stone, with cross groinings beneath. The vault is of one span, and its western arch or face is richly decorated. The old Norman rail of oak traversing the front of this gallery is in wonderful preservation. The altar was visible from the nave. In St. Laurence's Church, at Reading, the loft contained, besides an altar, a famous image of St. George on horseback.

This Rood loft was probably taken down in 1562, although the beautiful carved screen, which was in front of the gallery, has happily been preserved, and now adorns the east wall of the chancel. The right to a seat appears to have been acquired by a single, not an annual, payment of 4d., and, for the most part, such payment appears to have been made on behalf of women only. The same rate of payment prevailed in part of the Church at Reading, where the following entries occur:—

1520—1.—Setis. Item of my lord (the abbot), for his moder sete . . . iiii *d.*

1527—Rec. of Mr. Barton for a seate for his madens . . . viii *d.*

Rec. of Mr. Hyde for his mades seate . . . iiii *d.*

Rec. of William barb^r^ to my Lord Abbot for his wyffe's seatt. . . vi *d.*

But at Reading the payment was made every year.

The Bells bear the following Inscriptions:—

No. 1.—J.T.R.C.C.W. 1685. THE FORMOR TENOR WAS MADE MR. WILLIAM BAINTON AND THOMAS HAW, C.W. 1659.

No. 2.—FEARE GOD AND HONOR THE KING. 1685.

No. 3.—HENRY BAGLEY MADE 1686.

No. 4.—THOS. LESTER AND T. PACK OF LONDON FECIT EDWARD SMITH AND BENJAMIN HEDGES, CH. WARDENS 1753.

No. 5.—HENRY BAGLEY MADE ME 1685.

No. 6.—HENRICUS BAGLEY FECIT 1685.

No. 7.—CANTICUM NOVUM CANTATE DOMINO 1685.

No. 8.—HENRICUS GRESWOLD RECTOR DEDIT. 1685.

There was an older peal, as is evident from the frequent entries in the churchwardens' accounts. In 1532 is the following:—

VIII D solut Will Harewell p custod campanor'.

XVI D solut Will Walton p' the Clapur of the lytel bell; and in 1534 XIII^{d} were paid "for corrds for ye saunc bell"; and at about the same time William Wait received IIII^{s} for looking after the clock.

THE PARISH REGISTER.

The earliest Register consists of 127 sheets of parchment of irregular shapes and dimensions, bound together into a volume of quarto size, measuring 14 inches by 11 inches. Outside the cover are printed the words:—

"THE PARISH REGISTER
OF SOLLYHULL WARWICKSHIRE
BEGINNING 1538 ENDING 1668
REBOUND 1769.
RICHARD SUTTON YATES, D.D. RECTOR.
GEORGE LYNALL, } CHURCHWARDENS."
THOMAS SWINBOURN, }

The entries on the first sixteen sheets appear to have been transcribed from other documents no longer in existence, and are written apparently by the same hand, with admirable clearness and neatness. There are indications I regret to say that two sheets have been cut out at the beginning of the book, which probably contained an inscription or title page similar to the above, and the entries of baptisms in 1538 and the earlier months of 1539. This mutilation of the volume would appear to have been effected since its rebinding in 1769.

As the Register now is, the first five sheets or ten pages are filled with entries of baptisms, arranged in two columns on each page, headed "Baptizati." The two first entries are:—

The seven and twentithe of Auguste Ann Preston.

The eight and twentithe of Auguste Tho: Collin.

No further particulars are given in any of the entries than the date and name of the person baptized. Among the earliest surnames are found the following, which may be read with interest, although but few would seem to have any representatives living in the parish:—Shaxpere, Waryndrawe, Wynmills, Dabridgecourt, Mungumberie, Fetherston, Sandelles, Holbage, Hawe, Huggeford, Warynge, Noel, Griffin, Calamey, Pinning, Magotte, Averell, Bowyter, Brockhurst, Bromwitch, Kimberley, Ignathorpe, Bott, Preist, Thorne, Lea, Hansloppe, Hill, Fulford, Ashford, Hollinshed, Westcote, and Greswold.

Of Christian names of men the following are the most common:—John, Thomas, William, Henry, Richard, Humfraye, Robert, Roger, Barnabie, Nicholas, Baldwin and Ralfe, Christian, Christopher, Oliver, Edward, Roger, Daniell, Julian, Simon, Anthonye, Edgwinne, and Hamlette also occur.

Alice, Agnes, and Joane are the favourite names for women, but Marye, Margarette, Margerie, Winifrede, Anne, Elizabeth, Elnor, Isabell, Dorothie, Ursula, and Frances are often found; Sibell, Grace, Prudence, and Susan less frequently. We have not observed a single instance in this volume, that is between the years 1538 and 1668, of more than one Christian name having been given to the same person.

At the head of page 11, which is otherwise blank, is engrossed in large characters:—"Sexto die mensis novembris anno dni millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo octavo anno quoq: regni regis henrici octavi tricessimo," and then in smaller but very clear characters:—"Ricardus Baker curat: sub venerabili viro duo Thomæ Blenerhayset in art: mro rectore de Solihull die et anno supradicto." Underneath has been written by the hand, I think, of Dr. Yates, "The above writing copied," with a transcript in the current hand, the word "curat" being explained as "curatus" or "curator."

On the following page (12) commence the entries of marriages, under the heading of "Nupti," and extend over five pages, from A.D. 1538 to 1561.

The first entries are as follows:—

1538.—The tenthe daye of November.	Anthonye Molde and Joane Shawe.
The fifteenethe day of November.	Simonde Twiste and Joane Elys.
The four and twentithe of November.	John Boyes and Margerie Watton.
The six and twentithe of November.	Richard Pfederston and Ann Holbage.

The burials occupy the next ten pages, entered in two columns on each page, under the heading of "Sepulti," the date and name only being recorded, thus:—

1538.—The eleventhe daye of November. Isabell Fowle.

The record of burials in the years 1557, 1558, indicates the prevalence of a pestilence which proved fatal to two Rectors of Solihull, and to many inhabitants of the Parish, and was indeed very general, as appears from the following extract from "Dean Hook's Life of Reginald Pole."

"The condition of the country was indeed deplorable. A contagious fever more destructive than any other former plague or pestilence was depopulating the land. The destruction among the clergy was especially great, and was occasioned by their having to place the ear close to the mouth of the dying in order that they might receive their last confession. Prelate and priest, physician and patient, fared alike, and the palace was not more exempt than the cottage: two of the medical attendants on the Queen were among the dying, and nearly half the bishoprics in England were vacant by the death of the diocesans."

Of the burial of the two Rectors above mentioned the entries are as follows:—

1557.—The Thirde day of Maie.	Thomas Chamber, pson.
1558.—The Sixte daye of Agust.	Mr. Wyllm Hybott, pson.

The last-mentioned name is in some ancient documents written Hubawd.

On "The Sixteenthe day of Auguste" in this year, 1558, three burials are recorded, one of "John Hugforde Esquire," the first occasion on which this title has been found in our parish records: "on the Six and Twentithe Auguste 1558" we meet with the entry, "Thomas Hawe Gent:" and Thomas Waringe is mentioned with the same style of Gent: as early as 1525. On "The Nine and Twentithe November, 1558" occurs this entry, "John servant of Sir John Throgmorton."

In the course of a few years the title of Mr., Mra., or Mrs. is prefixed apparently to the names of the principal inhabitants, and of their children even in their infancy; and instead of the Latin headings of "Baptizati, Nupti, and Sepulti" we find "Weddynges, Christenings, Bwriynges," the entries being arranged in three parallel columns, on the same page, of which the marriages occupy the first column.

A few extracts of local interest are here made.

WEDDYNGES—

1569.—The tenthe daie of October.	Robert Boos and Dorothie Shaxpere.
1575.—Januarie the xixth daie.	George Hawes and Ursula Averell.
1578.—The ninth daie of September.	Mr. William Cartwright and Mrs. Grace Dabridgecourt.
1588.—The last daie of September.	Mr. Henry Higforde and Mrs. Anne Dabridgecourte.
„ The xvith daie of October.	Mr. William Sheldon and Mrs. Elizabeth Hawes.
1593.—The xxviiith daie of October.	Mr. John Hugforde esquire and Mrs. Anne Hugforde vidua.
Januarie	Mr. John Ferrour, Esquire, and Mrs. Amphillis Littleton.
The thirde daie of March.	William Holbache and Elizabeth Holbache.

CHRISTENINGS—

1568.—The fourteene day of Maie.	Lodowycke Bavande (probably son of the Rector, John Bavande).
1581.—The xviith daie of September.	Mr. Dabridgecourt Belcher gent.
1582.—The thirde day of Marche.	Amborowse Archer.
1588.—The xiiith of October.	Alice Greswolde gentlewoman.
1596.—The xxvth of April.	Mr. William Sheldon, sonne of Mr. William Sheldon, Bromsgrove.

BURIALLES—

1574.—The xxiiith daie of September.	Hamnett Fetherston.
1576.—The xviiith daie of Februarie.	A poor woman pergrina.
1577.—The eighte daie of Julie.	Thomas Greswolde, gent.
1590.—The vth daie of September.	William and Elizabethe Playsteede, gents.

1602.—Dec. Anne King, of Yardley pish, buried by women.
1602.—Sep$^{r.}$ M$^{ra.}$ Katherina Uxor, M$^{ri.}$ Johannis Fulwoode de forde hall.
1606.—Jane Swift puella holie well house.
1609.—Margarette Huddyford, vidua, buried by her sonnes.
1609.—Alice Hunt, pauper lepra.
1614.—John Hollicke, a twister.
1615.—Robert Cottrell, Bentley Heath, weaver.
1614.—Nov. Alice Shackell, a poor maide, Whitlocke's End
1614.—4 Nov. Alicia uxor Antonii Haman sepulta extra cœmeterium per lai, cas mulieres.

The Register of Burials for 1549 contains the following entry: "The nynthe daye of December, Wylliam Hyll." This is the Wylliam Hyll commemorated on the brass now affixed to an oaken slab on the N.W. pier of the central tower of the church. It is there recorded that he had two wives, Isabell and Agnes. It is well-known that Robert Arden, whose daughter, by a former wife, was Shakespeare's mother, married, in 1550, Widow Agnes Hyll, and the pleasing and ingenious fancy has been indulged that the mild-faced lady whose effigy is preserved in the Church was step-mother to the poet's mother.

We have no evidence indeed that Wylliam Hyll pre-deceased his wife, Agnes, and it is only right to state that our register records the marriage of Edwarde Brokes and Agnes Hyll, on the twentithe of Januarie, 1550, *o.s.*, that is to say, rather more than thirteen months after the death of the above-named Wylliam Hyll. It would be very interesting if this association with the poet's family could be established on conclusive evidence.

In 1595, the column for "christenings" is headed by the words—

"REGINALDUS VETUS DIACONUS,"

while the weddings are subscribed by "John Cole." In the entry of burials descriptive additions are occasionally introduced, such as uxor, infans, infantula, puer puella, puellula, adolescens, pauper.

There is no entry from "the xxvth daie of November" until July 15th, 1600. Between this date and 1668 the registers appear to have been irregularly kept.

It is recorded that the Archbishop [Bancroft] held a visitation at Coventry, on 25th July, 1605, and that on "the xxith day of September being Sunday, 1606, Richard Griswolde, yeoman, came into the church of Solyhull to divine service, and there openlie made his submission according to the statute in that

case provided." A similar submission is recorded as having been made by Henrie Eves, tanner, on the 14th October. In 1599 the entries appear to be made by a different hand, and the residences are inserted. The names of places of common occurrence are—Widnei ende, Whitlocke's ende, Olton ende, Foshow ende, Cop heathe, Fulford heathe, Bentli heathe, Shirlei heathe, Lewed heathe, Shirlei Street, Tanworth. Grawet and Garretts green, Tilehouse green, Longmore, the Borough, Broomfeeld, Leagreene, Hailes, Dogge Lane, Catherine Barnes, Shereman's Cross.

From 1614 for many years the entries appear to have been made very carelessly and irregularly; of marriages the records are very few and contain little of interest; burials and baptisms are often intermixed. Marriages by licence occur occasionally, and the occupations of the deceased are sometimes recorded. In 1635 the registers were kept much more neatly, probably by Antonius Welles, who came as curate on June 24th.

1639.—Francisca filia Anthonii et Annæ Welles, clerici baptizata fuit Junii decimo octavo.

But this neat writing ceases alas! in 1640, when "Anthonius Welles, Presbyter et Curatus de Solihull sepultus fuit May 1."

Shortly afterwards comes the touching record—"Anthonius filius Anthonii Welles *defuncti* et Annæ uxoris ejus baptizatus est."

He was succeeded in the curacy by Johannes Orton. The entries for many years afterwards are evidently very defective and illiterate. Mis-spellings are frequent, such as—wedings, marraidges, buerialls, "ware marrid Maye the 2 and twenty daye," dawrtar, dauter, dautter, Susanna the yealder. The first entry of a marriage before a Justice of the Peace is found in 1654. "William Whately, of Beeley, and Margarett Palmer, daughter of Thomas Palmer, were married April 12th, before Justice Eborall."

It was about this time, 1653, that it was enjoined by the commonwealth that a book of good vellum or parchment should be provided by every parish for the registering of marriages and of all births of children and burials of all sorts of people within every parish, and for the safe keeping of the said book the parishioners were to make choice of some able and honest person who should fairly enter (in writing) all publications, marriages, births of children and burials, and the names of every one of them and the days of the month and year, and the parents', guardians', or overseers' names, the person so elected to be called the Parish Register, and for such publication and certificate thereof, twelve pence and no more to be taken, and for every birth of child four pence and no more.

The first "Register" appointed for this parish was Nathaniel Ensor. He was succeeded by Henry Dawes, who seems to have been but poorly qualified for the duties of the post, and to have had misgivings as to the spelling of his own name, which he sometimes writes Henery. The entries are most carelessly

written and are hardly legible. This disgraceful condition of the registers must have been a sore trial to the new rector, Mr. Henry Greswold, who does not seem to have obtained control of them until the year 1669, when the second volume of the parish register is commenced in his handwriting. Throughout this time, however, in spite of the order for the record of births instead of baptisms, the heading of "baptismes," or as Mr. Dawes preferred to write the word, of "baptissons," was still retained. With Mr. Greswold a new era commences: the entries are all made in his handwriting with the most scrupulous care and neatness. The volume is entitled—"The register booke of the Parish Church of Solihull, in the County of Warwick, beginning on the 25th day of March in ye 21st yeare of ye reigne of our Soveigne L^d^. King Charles ye 2^d^. over England, etc., that is on the first day of ye yeare of our L^d^. God according to ye civill accompt of England."

At the bottom of the first page is written—

Mr. HENRICO GRESWOLD, Rectore.
GULIELMO MADEW, } Guardianis.
CLEMENTE FISHER, }

In 1678 occurs the first entry of an affidavit made before Sir Charles Adderly, as to burial in woollen, followed by a list of excommunicated persons, popish and quakerish recusants, and the names of those who are to pay the king's duty, a tax upon births, deaths and marriages, levied in 1694, for the expenses of the war with France. There are ten other volumes of registers in good preservation.

The records of the parish accounts are, unfortunately, somewhat fragmentary and incomplete. There is indeed one very interesting quarto volume, entitled "A Book containing the accounts of the Parish Bailiffs and sundry other particulars, beginning in the year 1525, ending in the year 1657." This description of the volume, apparently written in the year last mentioned, is no longer applicable to its contents which embrace many entries of accounts, the appointments of parish officers and other interesting particulars, down to the year 1720. Prefixed to the book is a copious index of its earlier contents, in the handwriting of the learned rector, Henry Greswold (1660-1700), with the addition of a few explanatory comments. For instance, writing shortly after the revision of the Prayer Book in 1661-2, and the introduction of the word "oblations" into the prayer for the church militant, he states, by way of explanation of the meaning of the word, that "oblations" since Queen Elizabeth's days were called charity money. We learn from this book that "collections," sometimes called "gatherings," not "offertories," were made at Easter for the Holy Rood Light and the Sepulchre Light; that to "the sexten for waching the sepulcre lyght was paid ii d. Itm for corrds for the Saunce bell and for the lampe, xiiii d. Itm to Wayte for kepyng the cloke, iii s. Itm to a broderer which came to mend the vestments, iiii d. Itm for vi. ell cloeth for a newe albe, iiii s. Itm for ye makyng thereof and for ye halowing yorf, viii d. Itm to ye Tyncker for mending ye crosse and ye censerr,

xii d. Itm for ix l. of wax for ye Rowed Lyght, v s. ii d. Itm to ye priest yt came from Ashton for hys exps, viii d. Itm recd a pey of Seint Nicholas clerks, iii s.; and iii s. vi d. to fynde lyght yerely to fed Sent Katyn and ye tabull of Seint Antony. Itm rec. of Ric-Wyllams for wax of one hyve of Sent Katyn, viii d. Itm ii s. viii d. solut dno Edvardo Symon clico p-libros. Itm vi. d. p Emendiconc decanapy. Itm iii s. viii d. dominæ Priorissæ de Hynood. Itm xix. shillings to the bell founder and for carrying of the seid bell, and to John Peakering, carpenter, for stocking and framing of the said bell, viii d.; and for mending of the cloke clappur for the Sans bell, and to Griffiths and servienti suo iv s. vi d. for mending of the bell and iv d. in drynkyns to them that holp the seid Griffiths, and xx d. pro uno peale de Wytold's day. Itm (a circumstance of perhaps especial interest at the present time) a cow was given by Mr. Henry Waren for the use of the parish, 'which was lett to hire, sometimes to one sometimes to another;' and there was a second benefaction of 'another cow with calfe.'"

There are many such like entries, of which it is the less necessary now to speak at length, as the earliest portion of the volume, written in Court hand, is about to be transcribed and printed. The table of Saint Antony above mentioned was at the the east end of the south aisle, Saint Katherine chapel occupying the north transept. Dns Edvardus Symon appears to have been the chantry priest. Very scrupulous too was the parish scribe in designating by their full titles the sovereigns whose names mark the year. Thus the accounts of Richard Holbach and Henry Hygford, guardiani ecclesiæ sancti Alphagi de Solyhull are audited "xxvi. die aprilis anno primo et secundo Philippi et Mariæ regis et reginæ Angliæ Franciæ Neapolis Jerusalem et Hiberniæ Ffidei defensorum Principum Hispaniæ et Siciliæ Archducum Austriæ ducum Mediolani Burgoniæ et Brabantiæ comitum Aspurgiæ (Hapsburg) Flandriæ et Tyrolis."

The same book contains a record that March 13th, 168$\frac{3}{4}$, was a certificate made that "John and Mary, the children of John Brandon, supposed to have the king's evil, were not touched at any time before by his majesty, to the intent to be cured of that disease, and subscribed by me, John Wright, curate, and Thomas Holbech and Will Harrison, churchwardens, with the addition of our seals, according to his majesty's order."

A second volume in a parchment cover contains supplementary accounts, in detail, of the parish bailiffs, churchwardens and overseers, from 1658 to 1676. From this date there is a break in the parish records of the accounts until the year 1711, although the interval is partly covered by the books of the overseers and Headboroughs.

Birmingham at the time of John Leland's Visit.

(1536.)

BY J. A. LANGFORD, LL.D.

December 20th, 1882.

N January, 1881, it was my privilege to send to this Section a paper on "Birmingham as seen in Domesday Book." From the brief, but important entries which that unique and priceless survey contains relating to Birmingham, Aston, and Edgbaston, I endeavoured to present a picture of the town in the year 1085-6. It is the first authentic reference to the place which we all so delight to honour, to be found in English history. A period of one hundred and eighty years passes before we meet with the name again; and this time it is not the town, but a member of the family which derived its name from the place, and a body of our people who are mentioned in history. I, for one, rejoice to find that in 1265 William Birmingham led a band of our townsmen in support of Simon de Montfort, at the bloody and unfortunate Battle of Evesham. Again, a hundred and seventy one years pass away without any other mention of the town having been discovered. The next time we meet with the name is in 1436, exactly a century before the ever-memorable visit of John Leland, which is the subject of the present paper. It appears from a deed of release, which is preserved in the historical MSS. belonging to the Earl of Shrewsbury, that a riot occurred in the town in the reign of Henry VI. This deed is dated 1st February, 1436, and shows that Joan de Beauchamp released Sir Humphrey Stafford, of Grafton, County of Worcester, Knight, Sheriff of Warwickshire and Leicestershire, all actions, etc.,

which she might have against him by reason of any irregularity in the execution of the King's writs against her, and her sureties for a breach of the peace by aiding in a riot in Birmingham. Of the cause, nature, and extent of this riot nothing further is known.

Again a century passes by before we find anything further relating to Birmingham. If Goethe's dictum be true that the country is happy which has no history, our town must, for a very long period, have been in that enviable condition. Whether it was so peaceful and happy as this silence may indicate or not, we cannot know; but one thing is beyond all dispute—it was an exceedingly picturesque and beautiful town. With its fine meadows; its numerous gardens, orchards, and crofts; its pleasant alternations of hill and dale, through which meandered the "lively-tripping Rea," it is scarcely possible to conceive a town more delightfully situated, or more richly-endowed with natural beauty. What Mrs. Browning says of England, is especially true of Birmingham some three or four hundred years ago:—

> "I learnt to love that England. * * * *
> And view the ground's most gentle dimplement,
> (As if God's finger touched but did not press
> In making England!) such an up and down,
> Of verdure,—nothing too much up or down,
> A ripple of land; such little hills, the sky
> Can stoop so tenderly and the wheatfields climb;
> Such nooks of valleys, lined with orchises,
> Fed full of noises by invisible streams;
> And open pastures, where you scarcely tell
> White daisies from white dew,—at intervals
> The mythic oaks and elm-trees standing out
> Self-poised upon their prodigy of shade,—
> I thought my father's land was worthy too
> Of being my Shakespeare's."*

To this Birmingham in the year 1536, John Leland paid his ever-memorable visit. He, like his predecessors in the great survey, was also a Royal Commissioner; and was appointed by Henry VIII. to report on the condition of the country. For six years, namely, from 1536 to 1542, this careful and industrious antiquary rode through the land taking notes, which have since been printed, and we are thus enabled to see with the eyes of a living witness the England of the sixteenth century. During these years he was, Mr. Henry Morley writes, "travelling over England, taking a particular account of the cities, towns, and villages of each county; describing also the situation, soil, course of the rivers, and number of miles from place to place. He set down the several castles, religious houses, and other public and private buildings, with account of the families of best note resident therein. He recorded windows and monuments of antiquity belonging to the several cathedrals, monasteries, etc. He inspected also their libraries, took exact catalogues of books, even made

* Anna Leigh, pp. 39-40.

transcripts of matter useful to his purpose of setting forth a trustworthy account of the history and antiquities of the kingdom. Leland, although a Church reformer, lamented the havoc made of valuable libraries at the dissolution of the monasteries, and he did what he could to bring into safe keeping the treasures of literature that he found."*

In the pursuit of his enquiries Leland visited Birmingham, and his picture of the place at that time is lively, graphic, and pleasant. "I came," he writes, "through a pretty street as ever I entered in Bermigham towne. This street, as I remember, is called Dirtey [Deritend]. In it dwells smithes and cutlers, and there is a brooke that divideth this street from Bermigham, an Hamlet, or Member, belonginge to the parish therebye."

"There is at the end of Dirtey a propper chappell and mansion house of tymber hard on the ripe, as the brooke runneth downe; and as I went through the ford, by the bridge, the water ran downe on the right hand, and a few miles below goeth into Tame ripa dextra. This brooke, above Dirtey, breaketh into two arms, that a little beneath the bridge close again. This brooke riseth, as some say, four or five miles above Bermigham, towards Black-Hilles."

"The beautie of Bermigham, a good markett-towne in the extreme parts of Warwickshire, is one street going up alonge, almost from the left ripe of the brooke, up a meane hill, by the length of a quarter of a mile. I saw but one Parroch Church in the towne."

"There be many smithes in the towne that used to make knives and all manner of cuttinge tooles, and many lorimers that make bittes, and a great many naylers; so that a great part of the towne is maintained by smithes, who have their iron and sea-cole out of Staffordshire."†

Birmingham had by this time grown into a manufacturing town, and was giving promise of the day when, as Burke said, it would be the "toy-shop of Europe." The trades by which it is best known have changed since Leland's visit. The "Naylers" have removed to Hagley, Hales Owen, Clent, Bromsgrove, Sedgley, and many other neighbouring places; the makers of "knives and all manner of cuttinge tooles" have found their permanent abode in Sheffield; but other branches of industry have taken their places, and the town still "swarms" with industrious and skilful craftsmen engaged in producing a vast variety of articles of use and ornament from a pen to a steam engine; from a lady's ear-ring to the most exquisite ornaments of the toilet table and the drawing-room. The town which then made knives, and bittes, and nails, now produces some twenty millions of pens in a week, and besides these, and numberless other articles of peaceful utility, is able to turn out two thousand stand of arms in the same time.

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*A First Sketch of English Literature. By Henry Morley, p. 256.

†Leland's Itinerary, v. 4, pt. 2nd., 186 b.

But let us now try to realise the appearance of the town at the time of Leland's visit. He describes Deritend as pretty a street as ever he entered, and it must indeed have been a charming place, with the Rea crossing it, adorned with fine trees, with half-timbered, gable-ended houses, and their gardens running down to the banks of the brook. He saw the fine mansion-house,* now the Old Crown House, happily still in existence to show with what a fine eye for beauty and picturesque effects our forefathers built their houses. From the gardens of this mansion a walk led to the river, passing through other gardens and meadows. He also passed some other half-timber houses, of which we have a few still remaining on the opposite side to the Old Crown; a very fine one, until recently the "Golden Lion," may still be seen. Then there would be smaller dwellings with half-open fronts, shaded by the pent-house above, such as we see in so many country places to this day. Here the "smythes," the "naylers," and the "lorimers" carried on their work, and made the air resonant with their musical blows. Then he came to the "propper Chappell," not our present somewhat gloomy-looking brick building, but a picturesque little chapel of wood, with tiled roof, with a small pigeon-cote looking belfry at one end; with trees around, and a fine avenue of noble elms shading the road in front. Such was the chapel Leland saw, and which has a history that ought to be most interesting to every Birmingham man, for it was the first fruit of the teachings of John Wyclif.

Mr. Toulmin Smith, in his "Memorials of Old Birmingham," gives the history of this remarkable transaction. "Whether Sir Richard Shobenhale (to give him his full clerical title), who, towards the latter end of the fourteenth century, happened to be Vicar of Aston, was a Parish Priest of the sort that Piers Plowman, and Wyclif so vigorously denounced, cannot perhaps be now known with certainty. But this much is certain;—that the inhabitants of Deritend and Bordesley had become moved by the spirit that breathed through the teachings of Piers Plowman, and Wyclif, and had grown thoroughly dissatisfied with being dependent, for their religious services, upon Aston Church and its Vicar. It is easy to understand the feelings that waxed strong and stronger on this subject, and the settled wish that arose to have an independent Church of their own within their own borders; feelings and a wish that were helped to ripen into determination by that important Judgment of Law, which put beyond doubt the right of parishioners to repair their Parish Church for their own use. It seemed to the men of energetic minds who then dwelt in Deritend, to be only applying the same principle one step further if they should build an entirely new Church for themselves. And this, accordingly, the men of Deritend and Bordesley, joining together for the purpose, set about to do. The Church which they thus built was the first actually new built

* For a complete history of this fine old mansion, see that excellent monograph, "The Old Crown House," by Mr. Toulmin Smith.

Church of which there is any record, as the fruit of the teachings of the true fathers of the Reformation in England. The building of this Church becomes therefore a memorable event in the history of England, and of the Reformation in Europe. It is a specially memorable event in the history of Birmingham."*

The "propper Chappell" was begun in 1375 (Leland's visit was in 1536), and there is little doubt that the site chosen was determined by the fact that there were very few houses on the side of Deritend opposite to the Crown House; probably only the half-timbered ones, which still remain. "It was an open space, with oaks and other timber trees giving shade and beauty to what, in spring time and in summer, would be the pleasant resort of the young for games, and of the old for pastime. The same space would remain still thus open at the time when the inhabitants determined upon building a new Church for themselves. A better site they could not have; and accordingly they chose nearly the middle point of this open ground to build their new Church upon. Having ample room, the new Church was, according to custom, set straight with the points of the compass, but not with the line of the road."†

The Prior and Monks of the Priory of the Blessed Mary of Tykeford (Tickford), nigh Newport-Pagnell, in the Diocese of Lincoln, were the appropriators of the Parish Church of Aston, and they and Sir Richard Shobenhale, perpetual Vicar of Aston, and Sir John Buttort, founder of the Priory of Tykeford, and Sir John of Birmingham, Knight, Lord of the town or hamlet called Deritend, on the one part, "with the consent and assent of the venerable father Sir Robert, by the grace of God Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, diocesan of the same Church of Aston," entered into an agreement with Geoffrey Boteler, Robert o' the Greene, John Smyth, William Jeffe, Thomas Holden, William Cooper, William Dod, Adam Bene, Richard Bene, Simon Huwet, Richard of Broke, Robert Flammvile and Thomas Chattock, on the other part; "That the aforesaid parishioners dwelling in the said towns or hamlets of Deritend and Bordesley, their heirs and successors,—because of the floodings, of the streams, and the obstructions often, and especially in winter time, threatening and happening in the other ways between the aforesaid Parish Church of Aston and the said far off towns or hamlets of Deritend and Bordesley,—and lest it should befall that the infants dwelling in the said towns or hamlets of Deritend and Bordesley for want of the rite of Baptism might perish for ever,—shall have, and may appoint, at their own charges, Chaplains fit to administer and discharge, before God and the parishioners dwelling in the aforesaid towns or hamlets of Deritend and Bordesley, divine services; which are always and for ever henceforth to be celebrated in a certain Chapel in honor of Saint John the Baptist, there lately built within the Lordship of

* Memorials of Old Birmingham, pp. 46-7.

† Ibid, p. 50.

Deritend aforesaid."* This was the Chapel which Leland saw; and the whole parishioners of Deritend and Bordesley still retain the right of electing their Chaplain gained for them by these patriotic and pious forefathers, to whose names should ever be preserved

"A broad approach of fame,
And ever-echoing avenues of song."†

As he entered this pretty street Leland must also have seen the field planted with birch trees, then called "Byrchehill," now gone for ever; the memory of which alone is preserved in our "Birchall Street."

Leland crossed the brook through the ford, by the bridge. He was evidently on horseback, and probably the water was the safer passage.

"In early times, before the water was dammed up to supply Cooper's Mill, which was about four hundred yards below the present bridge, Hutton is of opinion that the stream must have been so shallow as to admit of its being crossed, between Deritend and Digbeth, with the aid of a few stepping stones. But when it became necessary to dam up the water, several 'paltry bridges' were erected in succession, chiefly of timber, to connect the two streets; the cost of making and maintaining the said bridges being provided for out of the property bequeathed for such good works by that worthy townsman, William Lench, the pious founder of 'the Gild called Lench's Trust.' These old bridges were barred, and kept chained and locked, and had an attendant bar-keeper. In the seventeenth century, these rude wooden bridges—which were so easily washed away by the winter floods—gave place to one of stone, as shown in Westley's Prospect, with recesses in which foot passengers might take refuge during the passage of large and heavy vehicles over the bridge. This was removed in 1750, and another erected by Henry Bradford and John Collins (overseers of the highway), consisting of five arches."‡ Of this bridge Hutton says 'the homely style, the steep ascent, and the circumscribed width, prevented encomium.'"

The first stone of this bridge was laid by Mr. James Yates, August 5th, 1789, and on September 6th, 1790, the following advertisement was published:—"Notice is hereby given, that Application will be made to Parliament in the next Session, for an Act to enlarge the Powers of an Act made in the twenty-eighth year of the Reign of his present Majesty, entitled 'An Act for rebuilding the bridge over the River Rea, at the Town of Birmingham, called Deritend Bridge, and widening the Avenues thereto; and for widening and varying the Course of the said River, near the said Bridge, and making a Weir, and othen necessary Works, to prevent the lower Part of the Town being overflooded.'"

* Memorials of Old Birmingham, p. 57.

† John Rogers, the first Protestant Martyr, was born in Deritend about 1500; the exact date is not known.

‡ Old and New Birmingham, p. 204.

The levying of the Bridge Rate caused much trouble, and on October 8th, 1797, Messrs. Barker and Unett, Solicitors, published the following notice: "Deritend Bridge Rate. Several Inhabitants of the Town having been again summoned before the Magistrates to shew Cause why they objected to pay the Deritend Bridge Rate, and having consented to discharge the same—those Occupiers of Houses and Land who have not yet paid the several Sums assessed upon them, are informed, that the Collectors will attend at their Houses for the Purpose of receiving the same; and all Persons who object to pay, upon Application, will be summoned before the Magistrates without further notice.

The present Rate (which is One Shilling in the Pound upon Houses of the value of Ten pounds a year and upwards, and Sixpence in the Pound upon Land) is the only Rate which the Trustees have a Power to make by the Act of Parliament."

In August of the same year another notice was issued that "Application will be made to Parliament in the next Session, for fresh Powers to enable the Trustees to raise Money by a Toll upon the Bridge, to pay off and discharge the principal Sums now remaining unpaid, and the Interest thereof." Again in 1814, the Royal Assent was given to an Act for enlarging the powers of an Act for rebuilding the bridge over the river Rea, commonly called Deritend Bridge, near this Town, and for making other improvements adjoining that river. Once more, in April, 1822, another Act was obtained for enlarging the powers of two Acts of the late reign "for rebuilding Deritend Bridge, and for widening the inclines thereto, and making certain other improvements." The Bridge to be rebuilt had only been finished in 1813. The toll was abolished and the turnpike-gate taken down on August 27th, 1828.

Long before these changes Leland crossed the brook through the ford into Birmingham, the beauty of which he found to be one street going up alonge, up a meane, that is, a gently-rising hill, "by the length of a quarter of a mile." In going up this hill he again saw "smithes," and "naylers," and "lorimers" at work, in those quaint buildings, half shop and half dwelling houses, in which our ancestors worked and lived. He also saw some good half-timber houses, of which the well-known "Assinder's Tripe House" is a fine existing example. He would also pass the Moat, which surrounded the castle of the Birminghams, the Lords of the Manor from 1050 to 1500, but at the time of Leland's visit held by the Duke of Northumberland (Lord Dudley), who by fraud and violence had deprived Edward Birmingham of his inheritance. In Westley's Map, 1731, there is a small but exceedingly clear illustration of "the ancient seat of the Lord Birmingham." It is entirely surrounded by the moat, with the exception of the entrance, which is by a gate-way. Inside, on either side of the gate, is a small building; both looking like lodges or guard-houses. There are seven buildings besides in the enclosure and gardens.

It was advertised in 1768 as being then moated all round, and as being "very fit for carrying on a large Manufactory, there being buildings which, at a small expense, may be converted into Work-Shops capable of employing 300 workmen." The moat was the cause of frequent accidents, so that in 1789 it was said to be "absolutely necessary that the rotten bank should be repaired, and some kind of railing erected." At this time there were meadows near the Moat, commonly called Bague's Meadows. The railing must have been put up, for in a pen and ink sketch taken by Mr. W. Hamper, the Antiquary, in 1814, there are rails along the road-side of the water, and a close fence on the other side; within the fence are shrubs and a row of poplar trees. It is now the Smithfield Cattle Market; such are the wonderful transformations effected by that greatest of innovaters—Time!

Passing up the "meane hill," now Digbeth, the Bull Ring, and High Street, Leland saw the Old St. Martin's. "I saw but one Parroch Church in the Towne." Nor had his stay been prolonged could he have seen more, for there was no other. The Mother Church was then the only one; our second, St. Philip's, for distinction's sake called the New Church, was not begun until 1711, consecrated in 1715, and finished in 1719. The first mention of the Church which Leland saw is in 1290, and occurs in an Inquisition taken on the death of Rogeri de Someri. Before this date nothing certain is known about St. Martin's. Mr. Bunce, in his admirable History of Old St. Martin's, says, "The materials for any history at all are very scanty. There is no known record of the foundation or consecration of the Church in existence, nor any trace of such record. In Domesday there is no mention of either a Church or priest in Birmingham, which quite disposes of Hutton's principal conjecture that the building dates as far back as Saxon times. Until lately it was believed that no fragment even of Norman architecture was preserved to justify the supposition that a Norman Church once occupied the site; but in the course of demolishing the late building, a few pieces of stonework, evidently Norman, were found built into a wall."

It is useless to speculate on a subject about which no authentic records exist. What we do know is that the Church existed in 1290, which had most probably been founded by some member of the Birmingham family, whose castle, seat, or manor house, was at the Moat close by. We also know that in 1330 Walter de Clodshale, with the consent of William de Birmingham, founded a Chantry for the maintenance of one priest to say mass daily for "the souls of the said Walter, and Agnes his wife, and their ancestors, and all the faithful departed, at the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the Church of St. Martin at Birmingham." This endowment was valued at 51s. 10d. in the money of that time. In 1347 another Clodshale, Richard, gave buildings, land, and money for the support of a second priest to say mass in the same Chantry "for the said Richard and his wife Alice, during their lives, and for

their souls after death, for the souls of Walter de Clodshall and his wife Agnes, for the souls of Fulk de Birmingham and his wife Joan, and for all the faithful departed." This Richard was, at his death in 1428, buried in accordance with his will, "in his own Chapel of the Blessed Mary, within the Parish Church of Bermyngeham." Another Chantry formed part of Old St. Martin's. This was founded by the "Guild of the Holy Cross," in 1383, an association of Birmingham men for the purpose of aiding in the works of religion, charity, and education. They endowed a Chantry in the Mother Church for the maintenance of two priests, to perform Divine service "to the honour of God, our Blessed Lady His Mother, the Holy Cross, St. Thomas the Martyr, and St. Katherine."

This Mediæval Church was, says its historian, "a structure of no slight importance. It consisted of nave and chancel, both lofty and well-proportioned; north and south aisles, extending almost as far eastward as the chancel itself, and with the clerestory windows of the nave rising well above them; and a tower and spire at the north-west corner, the tower opening by a bold and lofty arch into the north aisle, and by another arch into the nave. Beneath the south aisle, at the west end, was a crypt, and another crypt, larger and capable of use as a priest's chamber, existed beneath the chancel. The internal dimensions of the Church were of importance. Its length from the west end of the nave to the east end of the chancel, was probably about 113 feet; its breadth, from wall to wall by the aisles, 65 feet; its height over 60 feet; while the tower and spire rose above the body of the fabric to a height of 200 feet. Besides these general outlines, some details help us to form some idea of the building and its appearance. Internally it was probably covered with paintings—scenes from the life of St. Martin, the patron, and patterns of various descriptions in colour; remains having been found of both these kinds of decorations. There were three altars—the high altar in the chancel; on the south side, the altar of the Blessed Virgin, in Clodshale's chantry; on the north side, the altar, probably of St. Katherine, in the chantry of the Guild of the Holy Cross. These altars would be 'served' by several priests—the Rector of the Church and at least one assistant for the high altar; two priests for the Clodshale chantries, and one, if not more, for the chantry of the Guild. The floors were no doubt completely laid with encaustic tiles, of which a few specimens were found in the course of demolition; the windows were filled with stained glass, large remains of which existed in Dugdale's time, and some even in Hutton's; and probably in the Clodshale chantry, and in the chancel, on either side, were the monuments of the Lords of Birmingham and other benefactors, reposing on altar tombs. When these details are combined into a mental picture, and heightened by the spectacle of worship, the solemn strains of the mass, the priests in their vestments, the lighted candles on the altar, the clouds of incense rising in the chancel, the gleam of colour from

wall, and window, and roof, and floor, with the great picture of the "Last Judgment" above the chancel, it will be seen that Mediæval St. Martin's was a Church not unworthy of a town destined to become one of the greatest communities in the kingdom, and one to which Birmingham may look back with pride."*

Such was the "one Parroch Church," in the "good markett towne" of Birmingham, which Leland saw in 1536. It "was probably somewhat above the centre of the town, standing on a green hill—sandstone rock below—sloping boldly from the brow at present occupied by High Street and New Street, to the actual site of the Church, and thence falling somewhat abruptly down to the present site of Smithfield, then occupied by the manor-house or dwelling of the Lords of Birmingham. Not far from the Church, at the end of what is now Edgbaston Street, stood the rectory house or parsonage, a clear stream running by it, forming, lower down, the moat of the manor-house, and thence passing on to fall into the Rea. There was probably a fringe of houses along the sides of the Bull Ring, in the upper part of which stood the Old Cross. Further in this direction there would be nothing but the Guild Hall, or the site of the present Grammar School, and the Priory, on the site of the Old Square, and including in its lands the streets now known as the Upper and Lower Priory."† It must indeed have been a pleasant sight for the stranger to have seen, and one which might truly have made his heart rejoice. Here were industry and beauty, town and country, busy smithies and lovely fields and gardens, the music of the anvil and the songs of birds—a union of things useful and pleasant, the works of God and the works of man blending in one scene of harmonious loveliness and beauty. If he never entered a prettier street than Deritend, he, certainly, rarely left a more charming country town than the Birmingham of that time.

Our delighted visitor, John Leland, or Laylande, was born in London about the year 1506, and received his education at St. Paul's School, and at Christ's College, Cambridge. At St. Paul's, the famous William Lily was at that time head-master. He took his degree of B.A. in 1522; and then, like so many of our old scholars, he proceeded to Oxford, entering himself at All Soul's College. He spent several years at All Soul's, and became a master of Saxon and Welsh, as well as of Greek and Latin. Not satisfied with his studies in England, he next went to the University of Paris. On his return Henry VIII. appointed him chaplain and librarian, and in June, 1530, bestowed upon him the rectory of Poppeling, in the Marshes of Calais. In 1533 he was by commission appointed the King's antiquary; and in 1536 he was by special licence permitted to have a curate at Poppeling in order that he might make his famous journey through England and Wales, the objects of

* History of Old St. Martin's, by J. T. Bunce, pp. 15—16.

† History of Old St. Martin's, p. 16.

which have already been stated. In this labour of love he spent six years of ceaseless travelling, and indefatigable labour in the pursuit of antiquarian lore; and in one of these years he paid his memorable visit to Birmingham.

His long task was concluded in 1542, and the King rewarded his zeal and industry, by presenting him with the valuable rectory of Haseley, in Oxfordshire; and in 1543 made him a Canon of King's College, now Christ Church, Oxford, and a Prebendary of East and West Knowle, in the Cathedral of Salisbury. He laboured assiduously in collating, digesting, and arranging the materials which he had collected. His first fruits of these labours he presented to the King in 1545, with the title of "A New Year's Gift to King Henry VIII., in the Thirty-Seventh Yeare of his Raygne." It was his account of the lives and works of our great authors. After the death of the King in 1547, Leland fell into a state of melancholy and depression, and at last became entirely insane. In 1550 Edward VI. granted the custody of him to his brother John Laylande, senior; but in two years death released him from this terribly helpless and hopeless condition. He died on April 18th, 1552.

After his death a portion of his MSS. passed to Sir John Cheke, who, upon going abroad, left four volumes to Humphrey Purefry, from whom they descended to Burton, the historian of Leicestershire, by whom, in 1632, they were deposited in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. In addition to the New Year's Gift, already mentioned, his principal works were "Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis," edited by Anthony Hall, Oxford, 2 vols., 8vo, 1709; the "Itinerary," edited by Thomas Hearne, Oxford, and published in nine octavo volumes in 1710-12, reprinted in 1770; and "De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea," also edited by Hearne, published at Oxford in 1715, and re-published in London in 1770. He was also the author of some Latin poems, written for public occasions. His works have been a store-house of riches for all succeeding antiquaries; but our principal interest in him here arises from his memorable visit to the town—his being the first literary mention we have of Birmingham, the first picture of it by an eye-witness, and we have endeavoured to describe the "pretty street" and the "good markett towne" which he saw nearly three hundred and fifty years ago.

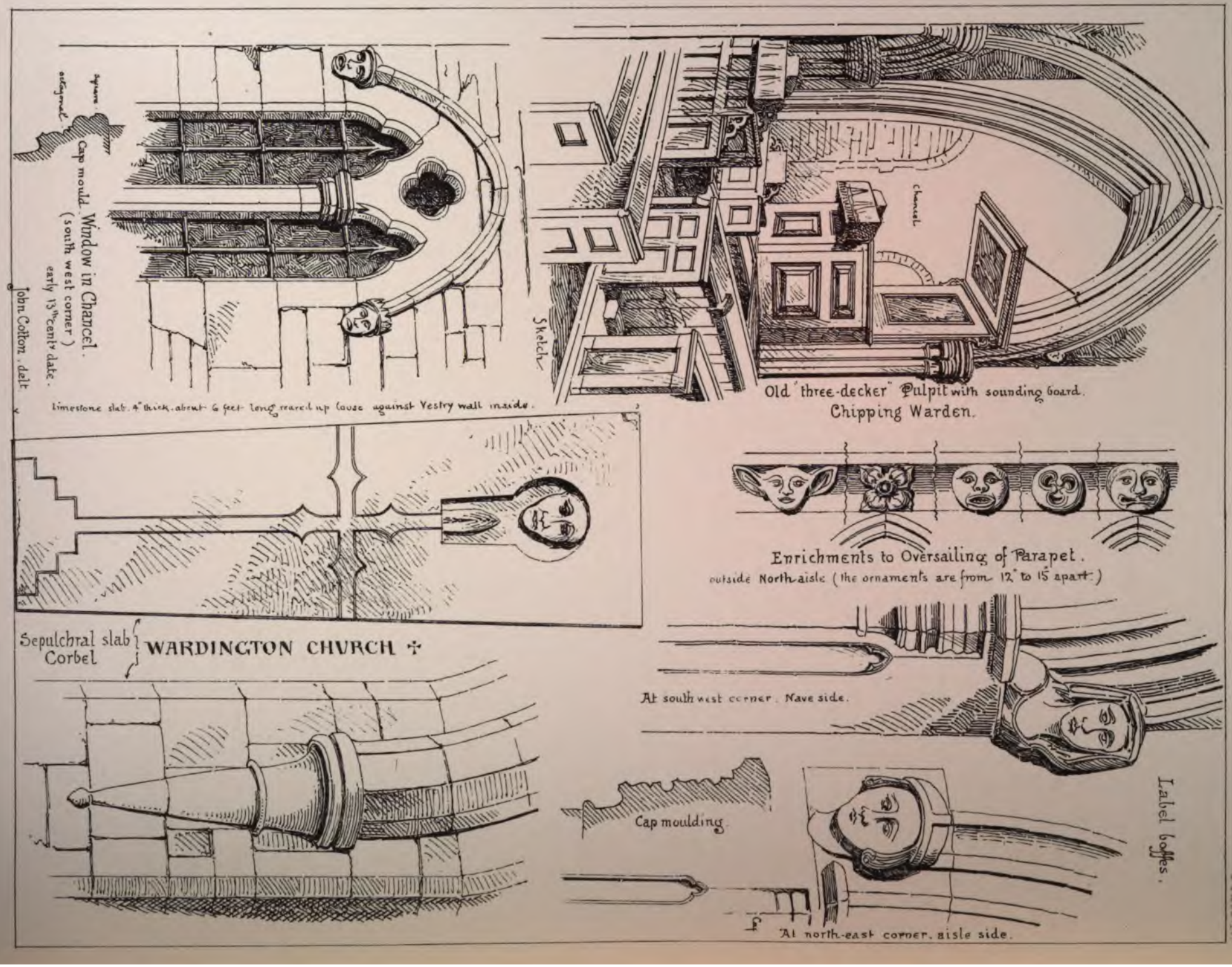
Excursions.

EXCURSION TO KIRBY HALL, DEENE PARK AND ROCKINGHAM.

June 21st, 1882.

THE first excursion of this season was attended by twenty-three ladies and gentlemen, who left New Street Station at the early hour of 7.35 a.m., for a visit to some of the objects of interest that lie within the precincts of the ancient Rockingham Forest. Every arrangement had been made for holding the meeting on the previous Wednesday, but the sad and sudden death of Mr. Allen Everitt caused the meeting to be postponed. Arriving at Rockingham Station, the party walked half a mile to the little village of Caldicote, to meet the carriages hired for the occasion. As the village is built of the native oolite stone, and as most of the houses have mullioned windows and high-pitched roofs, many of them covered with thatch, the contrast with the brick-built villages of Warwickshire just left behind was very striking. Some of the groups of cottages are very picturesque, have curious bay windows, and afford good subjects for sketches. The church is small, with traces of the Norman period. It has some good examples of early traceried windows of the thirteenth century, and a curious font; and on the western gable of the nave still stands the cot for the Sanctus bell. A pleasant drive along the Welland Valley soon brought the visitors to Gretton, the lofty square tower of the church having been for some time in sight. Here the church was inspected, under the guidance of Mr. J. A. Cossins, who pointed out and described what was most noteworthy. It is a large cross church,

with aisles, and a lofty western tower. The nave arcades are of the twelfth century, with rudely moulded circular arches, on low and massive cylindrical piers, with scalloped capitals. In the south transept are a piscina, two aumbries, and some interesting remains of a finely moulded archway of the thirteenth century, which attracted much attention. Resuming their seats in the carriages, the party proceeded to Kirby Hall, once a seat of the celebrated Sir Christopher Hatton, and great surprise and interest was excited at the first sight of this large mansion, standing in the midst of a finely wooded park, but strangely deserted and falling into ruin, although the fine stone of which it was built is as good now as on the day it left the hands of the mason, and the walls are for the most part sound and intact. An examination of the building shows it to have been erected at three periods; the first, a block containing the great hall, dining and drawing-rooms, and grand staircase, is said to have been built by Sir Christopher Hatton, from the designs of the celebrated John Thorpe. On one of the pinnacles is the date 1575. A second portion was probably added by the same architect. The latest range containing the entrance gateway, a chapel, and other rooms, completing the second quadrangle, is attributed to Inigo Jones. The style of this work is much more advanced towards pure Italian, but is a poor specimen of Jones's work. Kirby was in 1820 the seat of George Finch Hatton, Esq., and was in that year deserted, the tapestry and some parts of the furniture being left. This has all now disappeared, but some of the tapestry was hanging on the walls but a few years since. Another drive of about a mile and a half brought the party to Deene, where dinner had been provided at the Sea Horse Inn. After dinner, through the kindness of the Countess of Cardigan and Lancaster, the visitors were allowed to ramble through the fine ancestral mansion of the Brudenells, at Deene Park. This was formerly a Priory belonging to the Abbey of Westminster, at the time of the Conqueror's survey, and the abbot was lord of the manor, and occasionally resided here. It came into the possession of the Brudenells in the sixth year of Henry VIII. The earliest part of the mansion is of this king's reign, and the entrance court is a good example of the domestic architecture of the period, though somewhat added to and altered at various times since. The great hall is a fine apartment, with a grand Elizabethan open timber roof, said to be of chestnut, and is wainscotted throughout with oak. In the bay window a good deal of old heraldic glass has been preserved. The church within the park was then visited. The tower and spire are Early English, of good proportions, and with excellent details, but nearly every other part of the building has been renewed. In the chapel are a number of fine altar and other tombs and monuments of the Brudenells, and a very remarkable reredos to an altar, supposed to have been dedicated to "The Sacred Heart," as the central panel contains an immense heart covered with drops of blood (or tears) and the lateral panels emblems of the eucharist. The carving is very rude and coarse. The drive was next to Rockingham Castle, standing on


Square
octagonal
Cap mould. Window in Chancel.
(south west corner)
early 13th cent^y date.
John Cotton, delt
Limestone slab. 4" thick. about 6 feet long reared up loose against Vestry wall inside.
Sketch
Chancel
Old "three-decker" Pulpit with sounding board.
Chipping Warden.
Enrichments to Oversailing of Parapet.
outside North aisle (the ornaments are from 12" to 15" apart.)
Sepulchral slab
Corbel
WARDINGTON CHURCH ✝
At south west corner. Nave side.
Cap moulding.
Label bosses.
At north-east corner. aisle side.
Plate IV

the point of an elevated ridge jutting out from a line of hills overlooking the valley of the Welland. It was once a Royal castle, built by William I., and for the sake of the hunting in the well-stocked forest was much frequented by the English kings from the Conqueror to the last of the Plantagenets. King John especially favoured the place, as he is recorded to have visited it no less than fourteen times. Henry III. and Edward I. and II. are also known to have been here frequently. Nothing is known to remain of the castle built here by the Conqueror. The mound, of probably Saxon origin, on which the Norman keep was erected, is still, however, clearly defined. Of the oldest part of the fabric, the entrance gateway and the hall are of the time of Edward I. The gateway has a pointed arch, with good mouldings and a groove for the portcullis. It is flanked by large semi-cylindrical towers, of no great height, pierced with cross-oylets for archers. The hall has been divided in its length and height, but the original extent can be made out; and the details of its windows and doors remaining show that it must have been a fine apartment. Most of the present buildings are of Elizabethan or later date, and form a picturesque and interesting group. The proprietor and occupant, Mr. W. J. Watson, very kindly accompanied the party through the house and grounds, and allowed them to examine, as far as the limited time at their disposal would admit, the very fine and valuable collection of pictures, antiquities, china, old Venetian glass, etc., with which the rooms are profusely and tastefully adorned. After tea at the "Sondes Arms" the party returned to Birmingham, having had a most enjoyable excursion.

CROPREDY, WARDINGTON AND CHIPPING WARDEN.

June 24th, 1882.

The first half-day walking excursion was made on Saturday, the 24th of June. A large party left Snow Hill at noon for the exploration of a group of interesting villages in the north-east of Oxfordshire. The church at Cropredy was first examined. This has been restored quite lately, and although the stonework of the interior has been cleaned and scraped, much more than was necessary or desirable, there is far less reason for complaint than usual. It is a fine church, mainly of the fourteenth century, with north and south aisles, north and south chapels to the chancel, and a tower at the west end of the nave; and to the east of the north chapel a vestry of the fourteenth century, with a

priest's chamber over it; this has a small window of two lights to the east, and on the western side a window looking into the north chapel. The chamber is now reached from the floor of the vestry by means of a ladder. The chapels are both divided from the chancel—and that on the south side also from the aisle—by oak screens, one of which is a very interesting and beautiful example of the fourteenth century, with columns and flowing tracery; the others are of the fifteenth century. The nave arcades are of four bays, the arches and piers having double continuous orders of the wave moulding without anything to mark the line of the springing of the arches. This appears to be a local peculiarity. There is on the south side of the chancel a double piscina, with shafts and capitals of Purbeck marble, the latter exquisitely carved, although in so intractable a material. The roofs are all of low pitch and covered with lead. Many of the windows are of great beauty and interest. The tower is low and massive, and remarkable chiefly on account of the square stair turret, which runs to an unusual height above the parapet of the tower, adding much to its picturesque effect. Among many other features of great interest, in and about this church, may be mentioned the remains of a painting of the "Last Judgement," over the chancel arch, the vestiges of painted decoration on the easternmost bay of the nave roof, and the church chest with its beautiful wrought-ironwork of the thirteenth century.

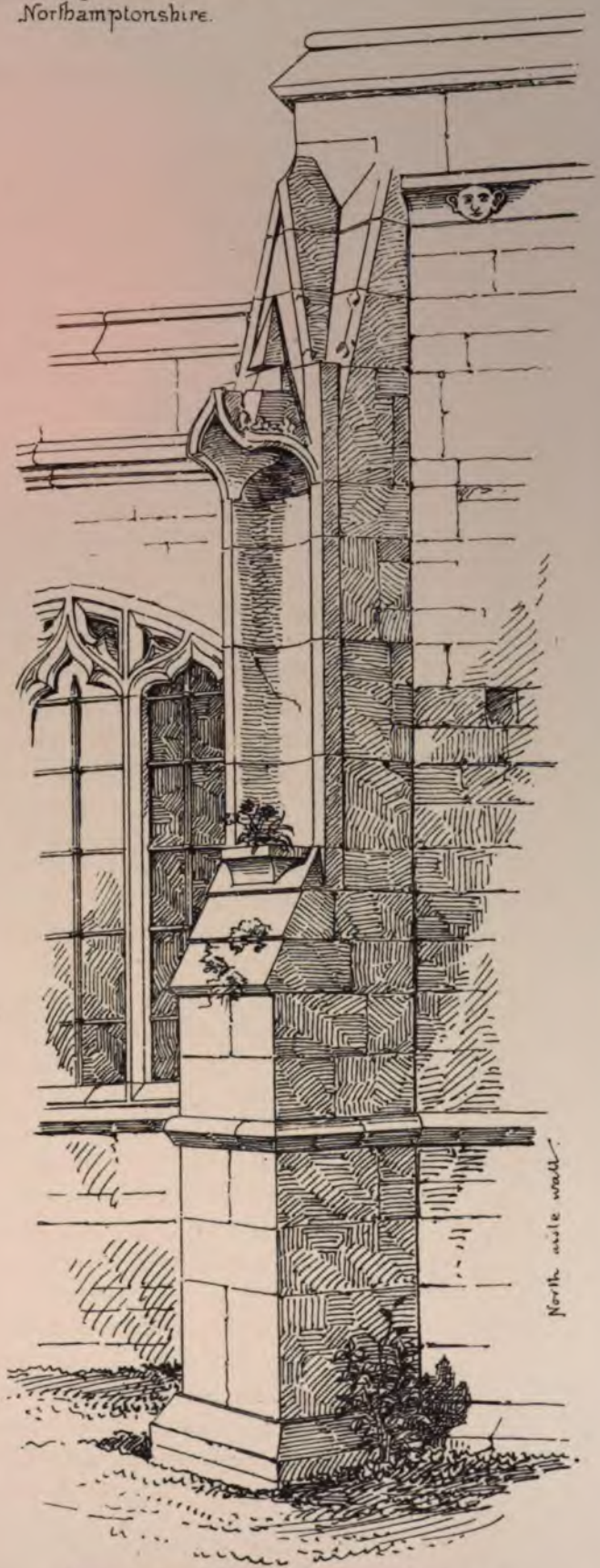
A walk of a mile and a half brought the party to Wardington. The church here was a great find, quite unrestored, and of unusual interest. It is of various dates, from the Norman period, of which there are but traces, to late Perpendicular. The nave is narrow, with wide aisles, and a tower at the west end. To the south of the chancel there is a chapel in continuation of the south aisle, from which it is separated by an oak screen of the fourteenth century, of very good but simple design. On the north side is an ancient vestry, and there are signs of there having been a chamber over it. The arches of the arcades are very narrow, the two westernmost bays on the south side have clustered shafts of quatrefoil section set diagonally, with very beautifully moulded capitals; the other pillars are cylindrical. The windows are of very varied age and character. The north aisle is lighted by three windows of two trefoiled lights, with soffit cusping, grouped under a single rear arch within, and a hood mould without: these are exceedingly beautiful examples of the thirteenth century. There are several other noteworthy windows of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in various parts of the church. The south door is a good Early English example, and in the eastern wall of the porch is a well-preserved, but plain, holy water stoup. A part of the chancel screen remains, but it is much mutilated. The Sanctus bell cot remains: it is a gableted trefoiled canopy, bracketed out from the eastern wall of the nave over the ridge of the chancel roof.

After another mile of very pleasant walking through Edgcote Park, the ivy-clad tower of Edgcote church came in sight. The church has a nave, with

Caldecot.
Rutlandshire.

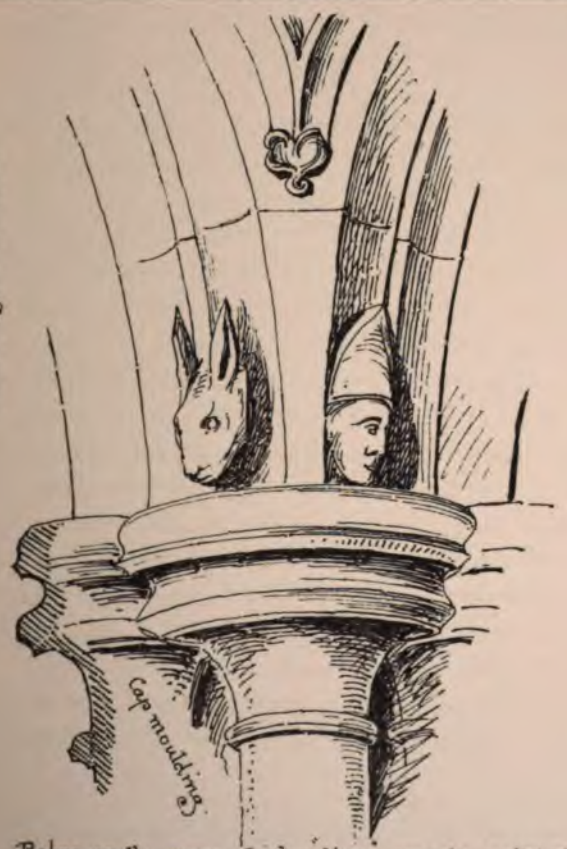
A cottage window.

+ Chippingwarden Church +
Northamptonshire.



Angle buttress with empty and mutilated niche
(at north-east corner of north aisle).

+ Wardington Church +



Rebus on the name Bishop Hare over the capital to a column of the Nave Arcade (next the aisle) South side.

John Cotton. delt.

south aisle of three bays, and tower at the west end. On the north of the chancel is an ancient vestry, over which was a priest's room, approached by a stair in the north-west angle, which remains, but the floor of the chamber has been removed. Baker says this is supposed to have been built for the priest who officiated under the will of Joan Buckland; and tradition says the chamber was inhabited by a priest. The arcade between the nave and aisle is of early thirteenth century character, with curiously carved capitals, one of which is engraved in Parker's *Glossary*. The tower is Perpendicular and of good proportions, the details of all but the western doorway are almost hidden by the ivy; the door is a fine example of the fifteenth century, well moulded, and with a lofty ogee crocketed canopy, and dwarf buttresses and pinnacles. On the south of the doorway is a holy water stoup. The manor-house stands close to the church, and although of no great age or interest, groups well with it and with the clusters of magnificent trees in which they are embowered.

Proceeding still further through the park, said to have been the scene of a great battle between the Saxons and the Danes, the party passed through its gates directly into the extremely interesting and picturesque village of Chipping Warden. Here is a very large and fine unrestored church in good condition; the excellent warm-tinted oolitic stone of which it was built remains as sound as when it was first worked by the mason, and is much more beautiful. The only change effected by five centuries of years having been the adding of the coating of exquisite coloured lichens, which have also served to protect the stone. It is mainly of the fourteenth century, but there are distinct memorials of a Norman church in some blank arches in the walls of the chancel, and the clerestory and tower are Perpendicular. The tower is well proportioned; it is at the west end of the nave, the aisles extending to the western face of it. The clerestory has windows of three lights under four-centred arches. The arcades between the nave and aisles are very fine, with piers of clustered shafts and arches and capitals well moulded. In the chancel are triple sedilia, piscina, and an aumbry with its old door remaining, and on the north wall is a very rare example of a credence table on a corbel head. On the north side of the chancel is a very interesting chapel with a good pillar piscina and a squint looking towards the chancel. Eastward of the chapel is a vestry lighted by an eastern window of three lights, with ogee arch and very beautiful and intricate flowing tracing. The windows are, many of them, very fine. The pews are probably of the seventeenth century, of oak, and noteworthy as early specimens of the enclosed pew arrangement. There are several interesting sepulchral brasses. The roofs are all of low pitch. In the grounds on the south side of the church are ridges and mounds marking the site of the castle. Eastward from the church stood a manor-house, built in the seventeenth century by the Saltonstalls, nothing of which remains. Near the church stand the lofty steps and the base of a wayside cross.

SALISBURY, STONEHENGE AND WINCHESTER.

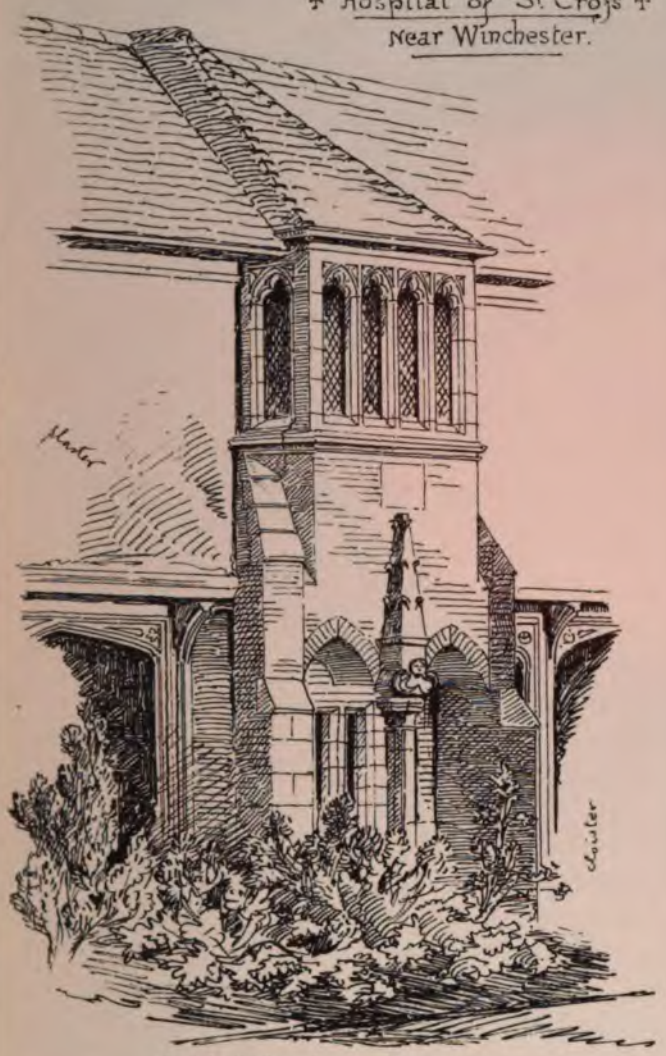
July 12th, 13th, and 14th, 1882.

This excursion, extending over three days, was one of surpassing interest, and in every way a great success. About thirty members attended, leaving Snow Hill station at 2.35 on Wednesday, arriving at Salisbury at 7.0. Nothing beyond a mere outline of the proceedings can here be attempted, the objects of interest visited having been so numerous and important, and so much having been seen and said.

On Wednesday, after tea at the "White Hart," most of the visitors strolled about the cathedral close, admiring from various points of view the well balanced pyramidal outlines of the cathedral, and studying its graceful details. Early the next morning a visit was paid to the famed Blackmore Museum, where the collection of prehistoric relics was examined, with the greatest interest, under the guidance of the President. Shortly after ten o'clock the party started in carriages for Stonehenge, stopping at Old Sarum to take a hasty walk on the mounds; and at Amesbury to see the church. Here the vicar, (the Rev. A. W. Phelps), with Messrs. Kemm and Edwards, local archæologists, met the visitors, and directed their attention to the several points of interest in the very fine church; these gentlemen then joined the party, and the strangers had much reason to be grateful to them for their courteous guidance to Stonehenge. After leaving Amesbury, attention was first directed to the great earthwork known as Vespasian's Camp, but time would not allow of a stop there. Great interest was felt at the first sight of Stonehenge, and a long time was spent in its circles; and after a two or three miles drive over the soft turf of the billowy plain, a stop was made at Lake House, one of the most charming and best preserved old stone houses of the sixteeenth and seventeenth centuries anywhere to be found. The visitors were very kindly received and hospitably entertained by the Rev. C. Duke, the proprietor and occupier of this delightful residence, in whose family it has been for more than three hundred years. Mr. Duke had arranged for the inspection of the party his wonderfully interesting collection of antiquities, a large number of which were found in the tumuli of the district. Among them an extremely interesting amber necklace, curiously pierced gold ornaments, beads, etc., and some fine and rare old books. Nothing more enjoyable or instructive has ever occurred to the members of the Section than this visit to Lake House. It will always be remembered with unmixed pleasure by all who were so fortunate as to be present.

After a short visit to Durnford Church, a small Norman edifice with some interesting details, the return was made to Salisbury. After dinner the party proceeded to the cathedral. Here they were courteously received by the Dean

✠ Hospital of St Cross ✠
Near Winchester.



Oriel window in Quadrangle.

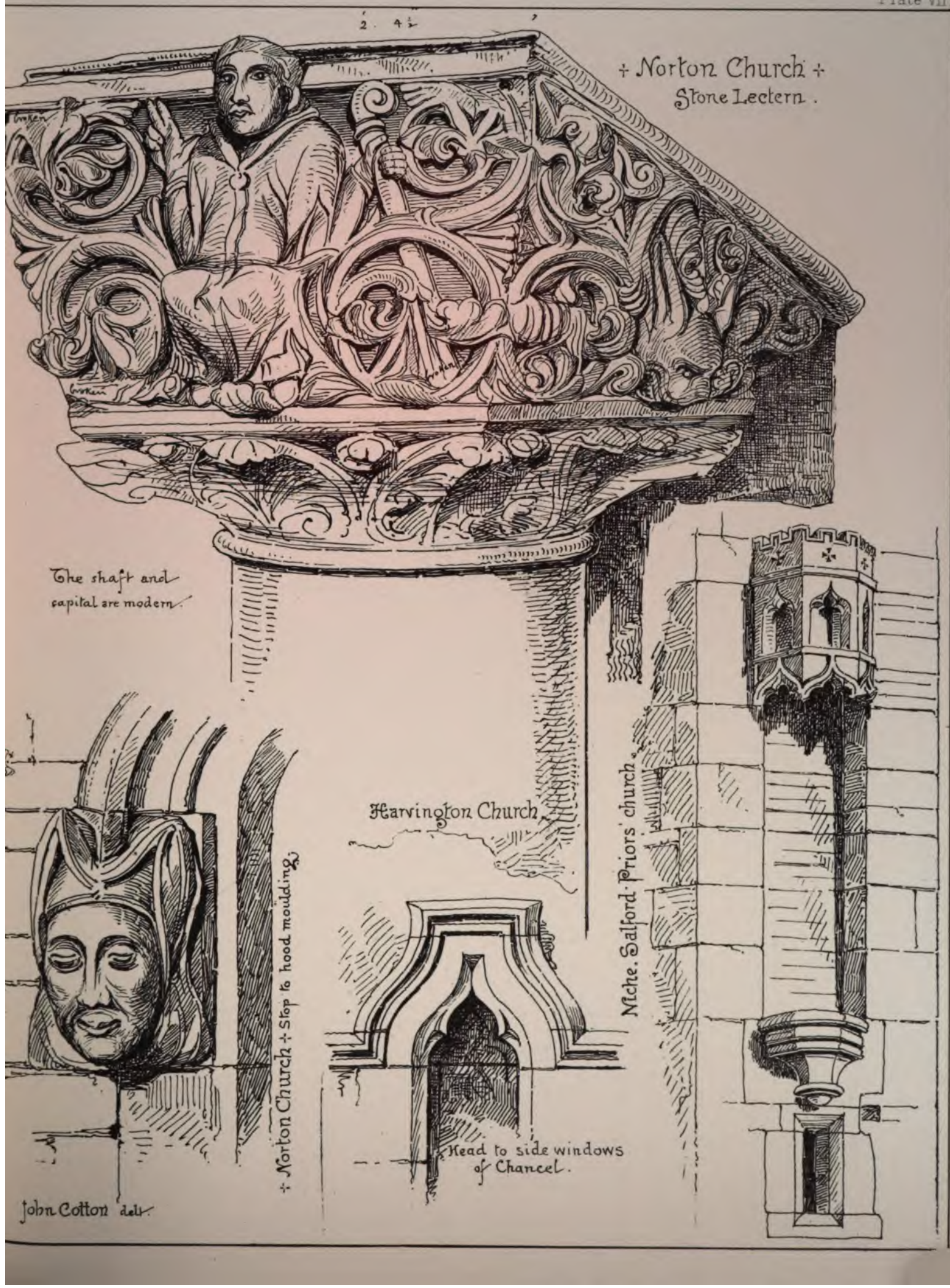
Salisbury.
Oriel window in the Close. St John Street.

Lake House. Nr. Salisbury.

John Cotton delt.

Window to a Parvise or Room over a Chapel in connection wth ye North Transept

Amesbury Ch ✠
Nr. Salisbury.


+ Norton Church +
Stone Lectern.
The shaft and capital are modern.
Harvington Church
Niche. Salford Priors' church
+ Norton Church + Stop to hood moulding
Head to side windows of Chancel.
John Cotton del.

(the Rev. Canon Boyle, M.A.), and conducted through the building, all the chief points of attraction being carefully examined, the tombs and monuments noted, and the usual indignation expressed at the reckless destruction of the vandal Wyatt. A long stay was made in the muniment room and in the library; here the Dean's assistance was especially valuable, in pointing out the priceless treasures the library contains.

The excursion to Winchester on Friday was scarcely less interesting than that of Thursday. The cathedral was first visited, and every part examined with great attention and interest, the early Norman work in the transepts and the crypt receiving a large share of attention. The party then walked to St. Cross, and were conducted through the church and domestic buildings. After a short visit to the college, and dinner at the George Hotel, the visitors started for home, and arrived at Snow Hill at ten p.m.

CHADDESLEY CORBETT AND HARVINGTON.*

August 13th, 1881.

This was a Saturday afternoon excursion, and was attended by about forty members and friends. Train was taken to Churchill Station, and an exceptionally pleasant walk thence through the fields to Chaddesley Corbett. Chaddesley is a picturesque village, with some good half-timbered houses and a fine church, mainly of the fourteenth century, and dedicated to St. Carsion. There are also interesting remains of the Norman period, and the details are of exceptional interest. The tracery of many of the windows is very fine, and the mouldings throughout are of excellent character. The font, which is Norman, is a beautiful well-known example. The tower and spire, although modern, having been built by the village mason in 1782, are of good proportions but of debased details. The church has been restored by Mr. Butterfield. Leaving Chaddesley, a further walk of about a mile brought the party to Harvington Hall, a large brick structure of the seventeenth century, and surrounded by a moat. Although the details are uninteresting, the general effect in its now semi-ruined state is extremely picturesque; one of the most interesting of its features is the number of "hiding holes." The rooms are for the most part dismantled, and the building generally is rapidly falling into ruin. After taking tea at the Talbot Inn, the visitors made their way, by another route, to Churchill Station, whence the return train was taken to Birmingham.

* By an error in "making up" the volume for 1880 and 1881, the notes on the excursion to Harvington, near Evesham, made in August, 1882, were included in that volume. The notes now published should have appeared amongst the excursions for 1881, and *vice versa*.

List of Committee, 1882.

ELECTIVE.

SAM: TIMMINS, F.S.A., *President.*
A. E. EVERITT, } *Honorary Secretaries.*
J. A. COSSINS, }
JOHN COTTON,
J. A. LANGFORD, LL.D.
WM. PEARCE,
EDWIN SMITH.

EX-OFFICIO (Officers of the Institute.)

J. A. FROUDE, ESQ., M.A., *President.*
COUNCILLOR R. F. MARTINEAU, } *Vice-Presidents.*
THE REV. A. R. VARDY, }
G. S. MATHEWS, ESQ., M.A., *Treasurer.*
J. H. CHAMBERLAIN, *Honorary Secretary.*

Report of the Committee,

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, 31ST JANUARY, 1883.

SAM: TIMMINS, ESQ., F.S.A., PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The Committee in presenting their Report for the year 1882, are glad to be able to state that the work of the Section has been carried on with considerable vigour during the past year. The attendance at the Monthly Meetings has been larger than usual, and it has been as good as heretofore at the Summer Excursions.

The following papers have been read during the past year, viz.:—

Jan. 25th.—At the Annual Meeting, by Mr. Oliver Baker, on some interesting Derbyshire Sketches exhibited by him.

March 8th.—"Solihull Church," by Rev. Canon Evans, M.A.

Nov. 29th.—"Notes on the Excursions of 1882" (illustrated by Mr. John Cotton), by Mr. J. A. Cossins.

Dec. 20th.—"Birmingham, at the time of John Leland's Visit," by Mr. J. A. Langford, LL.D.

Excursions were made to the following places, viz. :—

Kirby, Deene Park, Rockingham, etc., June 21st; attendance, twenty-three.

Cropredy (half-day), June 24th; attendance, thirty-eight.

Salisbury and Winchester, July 12th, 13th, and 14th; attendance, thirty-seven.

Harvington, August 19th; attendance, thirty-seven.

In arranging the excursion to Salisbury, the Committee found it would be agreeable to the majority of the members present to journey to Salisbury overnight; and thus two days were allowed for the purposes of the excursion, which afforded the members of the party more time than has usually been given at excursions made to places at considerable distances.

The following donations have been received by the Section during the past year, viz:—

By the President, Mr. Sam. Timmins, a series of "Notes and Queries," from the *Birmingham Daily Post.*

By Councillor R. F. Martineau, a copy of "Memorials of the Old Meeting House, Birmingham."

By Mr. W. S. Till, Borough Surveyor, a copy of his "Ancient Parish Maps of Birmingham."

By Rev. Canon Knowles, copy of his paper on "The Excavations at Wall's Castle."

The Committee have had photographs taken of several buildings pulled down in making the alterations under the Improvement Scheme, and in the extension of New Street Railway Station. They have also, through the assistance of Mr. Cotton, obtained photographs and sketches of Tettenhall Church, which is now undergoing restoration. The Transactions for the years 1878-79 have been issued, and the Committee are proceeding with the volumes for the remaining years; and they hope during the present year to be able to bring the publication up to date.

During the year the Section has sustained a heavy loss by the death of Mr. Allen E. Everitt, who was for many years one of the Honorary Secretaries. Mr. Everitt's labours in connection with the Section were so untiring that only his colleagues on the Committee can appreciate the self-sacrifice he was willing to undergo in its interests.

The Committee regret the loss which the Section has sustained by the death of Mr. C. H. Bayley. Mr. Bayley was possessed of extensive antiquarian knowledge, and was a regular attendant at the excursions and meetings; and his removal is a serious loss to the Section.

The Committee regret that the "Staunton Folio," which has now been in hand for so long a time, has not yet been issued. Mr. Fretton, who is writing the letter-press, has been unable to proceed with it as quickly as the Committee had expected; but he has now promised that it shall be completed without delay, and the Committee hope in the course of a short time to be able to place the volume in the hands of the Subscribers; and they have reason to believe that it will give satisfaction.

Dr. *General Account.* Cr.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1882.

1882.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 31st.—To	Advertising...	2	10	0
"	Printing and Stationery	8	17	0
"	Excursions...	13	17	9
"	Postage, Carriage and Incidentals	5	4	5
"	Bookbinding	0	18	6
"	Transactions	104	8	0
"	Balance carried forward	77	15	3
		£213	10	11

1881.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31st.—By	Balance brought forward				151	10	10
1882.							
Dec. 31st.—By	Interest on Deposit Account	7	0	1			
"	Subscriptions ...	55	0	0			
					62	0	1
					£213	10	11

Copying Fund Account.

1882.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 31st.—To	Photographs, per T. Lewis... ...	1	11	6
"	Ditto, per R. W. Thrupp...	4	10	0
"	Sketch, per T. Blackham	0	10	0
"	Balance carried forward	94	3	1
		£100	14	7

1881.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 31st.—By	Balance brought forward... ..	87	9	7
1882.				
Dec. 31st.—By	Subscriptions	13	5	0
		£100	14	7

Maps or Plans of Birmingham.

By SAM: TIMMINS, F.S.A.

January 31st, 1883.

THE Maps or rather Plans of Birmingham are not very numerous, nor of very ancient date. They have, however, very considerable interest as records of the state and progress of the town. The earliest map of the town was issued in 1731, but plans of Edgbaston and other parishes have been found of earlier date, and have been very properly copied and published by the Public Works Committee of the Town Council since this paper was read. Among these is a plan of Edgbaston in 1718, which has a very great value, as it shows the many great changes which have occurred. The volume which the Borough Surveyor has very carefully prepared is a most interesting mass of material for local history, and necessarily includes the most important of the Plans of the Town down to our own times.

The well-known reference to our town and its condition about the time of the Norman Conquest as given in Domesday Book, is the first chapter in the general history of Birmingham, and need not be quoted here. The usual reference to the state and value of landed property, etc., *tempore* King Edward is also an important part of history. The boundaries of the town, and even the number of inhabitants are probably not fully given, but are enough to show that it was a place of some importance over 800 years ago.

The first recognition of Birmingham as a town of any importance occurs much earlier than is generally supposed, in fact as early as 1284 to 1300. This is shown by a very curious and interesting map of England and Scotland now in the Bodleian Library. This map was engraved, somewhat incompletely and incorrectly, by Basire, and was published in Gough's British Topography with various remarks. It was shown to the Society of Antiquaries in 1768, by

Mr. Thomas Martin, and was then believed to be of the date of Edward III. It was bought at the sale of the Martin MSS. by Gough, in 1774, was issued and described in Gough's Topography, p. 77, vol. 1, and was finally secured for the Bodleian Library, Oxford, where it is highly valued and carefully preserved.

A photo-zincographic copy was made at the Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton, and issued in colour *fac-simile* of the original, but on a smaller scale, in 1875, but full-size copies are occasionally supplied. The ordinary copies were prepared for issue in the series of *fac-similes* of the National Manuscripts of Scotland. Mr. W. Basevi Saunders, after long and careful study of the map, published an account of it, and decided that from many remarkable details it was certainly of the reign of Edward I., and of the date between 1284 and 1300. The map is very fairly accurate so far as the southern counties are concerned, but Northern England and Scotland are curiously exaggerated, if not imaginative, while most of the important places are marked, and many of the more remarkable briefly described, with a record of very amusing "facts" as then believed. Many of the rivers seem to have neither source nor outlet, but important forests are marked by a rude sketch of a tree, and cathedrals aud churches are indicated by towers and spires. The main roads are marked with some care, and even the distances are given with more or less exactness. Many important places are represented by one small building only, with vertical lines to indicate windows, and in some cases a patch of red colour seems to make some distinction, and posssibly means "church." In larger places a distinct spire and sometimes two or more buildings are shown, but the fact of being included in this map is some sort of distinction, while the omissions are remarkable. For example, although "Arden" in red letters and in a red-line square clearly shows Warwickshire, the town of Warwick is not recognizable, but as the map has in some parts been evidently "restored," it is possible that Warwick may have been removed in the process of "restoration."

Birmingham, however, is distinctly shown—one small house, with a red roof, and the name is either "Birminghm" or "Brminghm," but the spelling in the reduced *fac-simile* is not quite clear. The town is, however, shown as on the red road between Worcester and Lichfield, both of which places have the distinction of a church with a spire. Stafford also has a spire, while Tewkesbury is represented by one house of the same size and form as that which marks Birmingham. Burton is marked by a still smaller building, so that allowing for ignorance and errors, Birmingham, on its first appearance on any map, may fairly be taken to have been an important town nearly 600 years ago.

Birmingham doubtless occurs on some of the maps of the seventeenth and perhaps sixteenth centuries, where, however, it would not be so notable as in the map described. Its mere occurrence, however, would not be important, and it is not till the end of the seventeenth century that it appears on any map of sufficient size to show any details of its size and position. Nearly at the end of the

seventeenth century—in 1675, in fact—John Ogilby published the road maps which are even now found useful by the "wheel-world" on bicycles and tricycles, and Birmingham then is shown with "flowing Rea," Church, and the fork at the top of the Bull Ring running towards Halesowen on the left and Lichfield on the right hand, respectively, along New Street (which was "The Newe Street" in 1567), or possibly Dudley Street, to the one place, and Dale End to the other. Any of the earlier editions of Ogilby's curious maps are very interesting, as so many details are given, some of which are still correct, and some of which have been lost or changed almost beyond recognition now.

The beginning of the last century was, however, the birthday of plans of towns, and Birmingham was not behind many of the larger places. In 1731, William Westley published the first "Plan of Birmingham," of which the original plate still exists and copies of which have so frequently been issued that it is familiar to all who are interested in "Old Birmingham." As a record of the streets which then formed Birmingham, of their names, of the buildings, roads, gardens, etc., this "Plan" is remarkably interesting and valuable as a really trustworthy authority for the state of the town at the time of "the survey in 1731."

In 1750, a much larger and more valuable plan, with views of St. Martin's and St. Phillip's, and careful views of the most important buildings, was issued by Samuel Bradford, engraved by Thomas Jeffreys, a "Geographer" of the period, and marking, in all sorts of details, the great progress of the town.

In 1778, a still larger and finer plan was published by Thomas Hanson, with views of various public buildings and a short description of the town. This plan is in all respects a most valuable record of Birmingham, and has long been highly valued and very scarce. It is almost beyond praise as an example of such work, and even in the reduced copy of the Borough Surveyor's volume it is clear enough to be very useful for general purposes, although necessarily inferior to a good copy from the original plate.

In 1781, a reduced copy of this plan, necessarily omitting many details, was issued with "Hutton's History of Birmingham," to which it was a useful addition, and it has since been frequently reproduced.

In 1792, Charles Pye contributed a map to the third edition of "Hutton's Birmingham," and the late Mr. David Malins, an enthusiastic and life-long collector of illustrations of Old Birmingham, and who gave his collections to the Reference Library shortly before his death, held the opinion that Pye's plan was from a special survey made about that date.

In 1795, Pye's plan was re-issued with various additions, some of which are important as showing how carefully the work was done.

In 1800, the locally famous James Bissett, whose "Museum" was in New Street, nearly opposite Cannon Street, issued the first edition of his Magnificent Directory, to which he added a small map (7½ × 4½in.) as a guide to strangers, but it had no special merit, being merely reduced from earlier maps, and was also used in "Grafton's Sketch of Birmingham" about the same date.

In 1808, J. Kempson published a map of the eastern portion of the Parish of Birmingham, followed in 1810 by a large map of the whole parish for the Commissioners of the Streets, both of which are remarkable in interest and value.

In 1815, an important map was issued by Kempson from a new survey, and the area included was almost the same as the earlier maps, but the size smaller—only 15¼ × 12¼in. A similar map of Kempson's was used in Wrightson's Directory of 1818, in Pye's "Birmingham" in 1819, and a copy of this last-named appeared in Drake's "Birmingham" in 1825.

In 1825, a new era in town plans began, or, perhaps, rather was revived from the examples of Bradford and Hanson, by the admirable plans of Birmingham surveyed and published by J. Pigott Smith, who was Surveyor to the Commissioners of the Street Act. This admirable map, made from "a minute trigonometrical survey," was one of the finest productions of its day. It was carefully surveyed and admirably engraved. It gave for the first time the names of local land-owners whenever they could be procured, and it is clear that there were often difficulties, for in some places the plan is marked "Admission Refused," and there was no right or power of entry even for an official survey then. This splendid map of the town does not often occur for sale now, and must not be judged by the necessarily condensed and reduced *fac-simile* in the Borough Surveyor's excellent volume, but from any original copy in which all the lines are clear. It deserves the highest praise, and none the less that it gives in a corner Westley's Plan of 1731 as a contrast to the town surveyed in 1824 and 1825.

In 1834, a few copies of Hunt's Map seem to have been issued, also from a special survey, but it is somewhat doubtful if the map was published, as there seems to have been some error in the engraving of the plates, but so far as it goes it is a useful map. In the same year, James Guest issued a poor copy of the original map in Hutton's "Birmingham," brought down to date and re-arranged to illustrate the Guest edition of Hutton's History, which was re-cast and continued to include the history of the Newhall Hill meetings and the Reform Agitation of 1832. In the same year, Wrightson and Webb's Directory had a small neat map with an engraving of the Town Hall. Also in 1834, Arrowsmith's fine map, with views of the public buildings, plan of Soho, and boundary of the Parliamentary Borough appeared (27 × 22in.), and was a very important addition to local topographical material.

In 1837, R. K. Dawson's map of the proposed boundary of the Municipal Borough, enlarged from the Ordnance Survey, appeared.

In 1838, Wrightson and Webb re-issued Hunt's Map, but like the former issue the engraving was defective, the sheets did not join correctly. In the same year, Birmingham and its Environs, showing the London and Birmingham and Grand Junction Railway Depôts, carefully laid down from actual survey by J. R. Jobbins, with plan of Soho, small maps of environs, views of public buildings, and map of London and Birmingham Railway was also published (26 × 19in.) and proved a very useful addition to local maps.

In 1844, the Useful Knowledge Society issued a small neat map of Birmingham, with views of the public buildings as a border, and the map was greatly admired and is useful even now.

In 1847, a remarkable "illustration" of Birmingham, as of other towns, was published by Ackerman and Co. It was not technically a "map" or "plan," but a "bird's-eye" or "panoramic" view (27 × 14in.) giving the names of the principal streets, and views of the principal buildings and streets, but the relative positions are necessarily distorted, and the view as a whole is very incorrect.

In 1848, a new departure was notable in the very fine map of the Parish of Aston, with the wards of Duddeston-cum-Nechells, Deritend and Bordesley, and the Hamlet of Saltley and Washwood Heath, Little Bromwich, Castle Bromwich, Water Orton, Witton and Edgbaston, and Birmingham also, very finely engraved from a careful survey, and on a sheet 78 × 50in., by William Fowler and Son.

In 1849, the Useful Knowledge Society's map, corrected to 1849, appeared in the late Josiah Allen's "Birmingham," an excellent volume, extensively illustrated with excellent wood cuts, and which was carefully compiled by the late William Bates from several original sources. In the same year, the Board of Health map (18 × 11in.) with the Parliamentary boundary appeared.

In 1850, James Guest issued a map of the Borough, apparently the first which appeared with the Wards marked, and on a large sheet 26 × 20in.

In 1853, Blood's "Map of Birmingham and its environs, within a radius of ten miles from the Town Hall as a centre," was published on a sheet 47 × 43in.

In the same year, a "Plan of Edgbaston" (12 × 9in.) was published in the "Edgbaston Directory and Guide," and deserves mention as part of Birmingham, and as the first and only map of Edgbaston separately.

In 1854, the Post Office Directory Map was only the Useful Knowledge Society's Map corrected, and with the environs in the right hand upper corner.

In 1865, the Town Council Map, by J. Pigott Smith, was issued (47½ × 22½in.), somewhat smaller than the issue of 1825 and not nearly so fine a work of engravers' art. A reduced copy (10 × 12in.) was also issued in the same year, and both were very useful, being corrected to date.

In 1858, Moody's Map, with street list (22 × 17in.) was published and afterwards frequently re-issued. Cornish's New Trade Directory about this time had a map (21 × 16in.) engraved by D. Gunter, and another in Cornish's Guide (10 × 8in.) engraved by A. Johnson.

In 1860, Granger's Map, with views of public buildings (25 × 17in.) appeared, and in the same year, the Post Office Directory Map of Birmingham and the suburbs, corrected and enlarged, was published (23 × 16in.), and has been frequently corrected in later issues.

In 1884, the latest and completest of the surveys and maps of the Borough was issued by the present Borough Surveyor, Mr. W. S. Till. It is remarkable for its comprehensiveness, and for the care and skill with which it has been

surveyed, prepared, and issued. Even with all its merits as a survey and plan, the true archæologist will turn with pleasure to the brilliant plans of Bradford, Hanson, and J. Pigott Smith, which were produced before lithography was common and when engraving was one of the "fine arts."

This record of the topographical material for the history of Birmingham is probably as complete as it ever will be made, but doubtless errors and omissions will be found to be corrected hereafter. Such a record loses most of its interest in the absence of the local plans and maps which were shown and described when the original paper was read. This may, however, be accepted *valeat quantum* as some sort of record of local maps and plans, and the Borough Surveyor's most valuable folio of *fac-similes* of the more important maps will furnish readers with more excellent "illustrations" than these pages can give.

Old Birmingham Books.

By SAM: TIMMINS, F.S.A.

February 28th, 1883.

IT is intended under this title, "Old Birmingham Books," to include those which are connected with the town by authorship, subject or printing, and chiefly those published during the last century, when printing was first practised in Birmingham, as early as 1717 and probably some years earlier.

In the previous century a work appeared which may be classed as that of a local author, since the writer was in the earlier half of that century a resident in the town as one of the masters of King Edward's School. Nothing is known of his history or connection with the school, except from the title page of the book. The records of the school show only Nathaniel Brookesby as master in 1654, but the book to be described preserves the name of one of the masters, probably between 1640 and 1650. The volume is a duodecimo, and a very careful treatise in English, on Latin Grammar, under the following title:—

> "The Latin Grammar composed in the English Tongue, wherein the Excrescencies [*sic*] of the ordinary Grammar are cut off and the Deficiencies thereof (so generally complained of) supplied, for the more easy, speedy and certain direction of all those that have a desire to attain to the Understanding of that useful and necessary language. By J. B. Master of Arts, and not long since Master of the Free School of Birmingham, in Warwickshire.
> London, Printed by A. Miller for Thomas Underhill, at the Author and Bible in St. Paul's Churchyard, near the little North Door. MDCLII."

The preface is an interesting paper as an introduction, and is fortunately signed in full "John Barton," so that not only is the name of the author preserved, but that of a previously forgotten master of the Free Grammar School recovered

from oblivion. The little volume, now in the Birmingham Section of the Reference Library, will long be looked at with great interest as the first work in literature connected with our town.

Early in the next century another work appeared—only a pamphlet—but curious, since it shows that even at that early date there was at least one bookseller in the town. Not long before, Michael Johnson, the father of the famous Samuel Johnson, used to come from Lichfield—doubtless, on market days only—with a supply of books for the then limited demand. It is possible that the "Andrew Johnson, bookseller, in Birmingham," was the brother "Andrew" of Michael Johnson, but there is no evidence at present of such a theory. It is remarkable, however, that this book was printed for "Andrew Johnson," which implies that he was well established as a bookseller, and, probably, also implies that the book was not printed in Birmingham. The title is curious and interesting:—

> "A Discourse concerning Church Communion wherein is shewn the Nature of Christ's Mystical Body: by what Means Persons become Members of it; what Duties are required of them afterwards; and what Reward they are entitled to upon the Performance of those Duties. And also A Discourse wherein is shewed That the Church of England does not teach for Doctrines the Commandments of Men, By A Divine of the Church of England. London: Printed by J. Downing for Andrew Johnson, Bookseller in Birmingham, 1702."

Another pamphlet also appeared in the same year, apparently by some early nonconformist, under the title:—

> "Presbyterian Meetings, where there is a Parish Church are no Schisms and they that go thither are no Schismaticks, being an answer to Mr. Abraham Jeacock, Curate in Birmingham, By Thomas Bladon, London. Printed and Sold by the Booksellers in the City and Country 1702."

The next volume associated with Birmingham had neither a Birmingham author nor bookseller, but is remarkable as being on a subject which arose in Birmingham, and as having in the imprint the name of Dr. Johnson's father in the year after the birth of his famous son. As the title is partly historical as to facts it is worth quoting completely:—

> "The Christian Synagogue: or the Original Use and Benefit of Parochial Churches set forth in a Sermon Preached at Birmingham in the County of Warwick on the Feast of St. Phillip and St. James, Anno 1710 at a General Meeting of the Commissioners appointed for the building of an additional Parochial Church in Birmingham which by virtue of a late Act of Parliament is to be called St. Phillip's Church. Published at the desire of the Commissioners and Inhabitants of the Place, By William Binckes D.D. Dean of Lichfield. London, Printed for Joseph Bower, at the Rose in Ludgate Street, and Michael Johnson, Bookseller in Lichfield MDCCX."

The next work is remarkable as one of two early publications by the same author, and was possibly printed in Birmingham, but there is no direct evidence to prove where it was printed, since even the words "Printed by" are not always

positive proof, as publishers sometimes then, as now, called themselves "printers" when the work was really done by some obscure printer. Again the title is curious and worth copying:—

"A Panegyrick on our late Most Gracious Sovereign King William of Glorious and Immortal Memory as also on his Present Majesty our no less Gracious Sovereign King George.
Spoken by James Parkinson one of the Scholars of Birmingham School December 10, 1715 being the day of their Breaking up, and Published at the Desire of some Gentlemen who heard it.
London: Printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford Arms in Warwick Lane, 1715. Price 3d."

This title is not only historic, but curious, as an example of the loyalty at that time. That phrase, "our no less Gracious Sovereign," is a pleasant example of making the best of both reigns, and the simple candour of the phrase, "some of the Gentlemen who heard it," is pleasantly ambiguous, as it may mean that "some" did not "desire" it to be printed, or that only "some Gentlemen" were present.

The next issue is more generally known through Mr. William Downing's dainty reprint, in 1884, with a preface of a very interesting kind, by the late William Bates, of the "Loyal Oration," also by James Parkinson who had then (1717) become chief master of the Free School of Birmingham, in Warwickshire. The title of this work is long, and having been printed in full, need not be quoted. The "Oration" was very controversial as to Plots, Popish and Protestant, the High Church Party, etc., which need not be detailed, as the chief interest in the volume is that it is the first book printed in Birmingham, and as the imprint bears "Printed and Sold by Matthew Unwin near St. Martin's Church." The Introductory Notice by William Bates gives many interesting details concerning the pamphlet, which was doubtless actually printed in Birmingham as stated on the title page, as Matthew Unwin issued another pamphlet in the same year. The "Loyal Oration" is not particularly interesting except for its personalities, for the title refers to it having been "spoken by his son on the 10th day of December 1716," to its having been printed at the request of "several officers of the Welch Fusileers and other loyal gentlemen," and he further adds a postscript, in which he says that the Rev. Mr. Higgs, Rector of St. Phillip's Church in Birmingham was "so displeas'd and nettl'd with it, and especially with that Passage in it relating to *bidding Prayers*, which he constantly uses, that on the Sunday following he could not forbear reviling the Author in his Sermon, calling the Speech a scurrilous Discourse and the Composer thereof a Slanderer and Calumniator."

In the same year (1717) another pamphlet was issued from the press of Matthew Unwin, also of a controversial kind, under the title:—

"The Martyrdom of King Charles the First, a Sermon Preached on the 20th of January By J. B. a Divine of the Church of England.
Birmingham Printed and Sold by Matthew Unwin 1717."

Two years later, in 1719, another printer appears in Birmingham in H. B., who was Henry Butler, who carried on the business for some years, and his family probably carried on the business till nearly the end of the century, for Esther Butler appears at 76, New Street in the Directory of 1770. The title of this work is long, but is so curious and the work so rarely found that it is worth copying:—

"A Help against Sin in our Ordinary Discourse as also against prophane [*sic*] swearing, cursing, evil wishing: and taking God's name in vain and also against Triming on the Lord's Day, Shewing that it is neither a work of Mercy nor case of Necessity and therefore ought not to be done on that day.
'Remember the Sabbath Day to Keep it Holy.' Exodus 20, 15.
'Six Days may work be done but the Seventh is a Sabbath of Rest Holy be the Lord. Whosoever doeth any work thereon shall surely be put to Death.' See Exodus 31, 15.
Published by the Author R. H. Chyrurgeon in Walsall, Staffordshire, 1719.
Birmingham: Printed by H. B. in New Street."

It may scarcely be necessary to explain that the "Triming" or "Trimming" seems to have been the name for "Shaving," which, according to the "Chyrurgeon" of Walsall, was a deadly sin against the Mosaic Law. The R. H. was apparently R. Hamersley, and as he says (page 27)—"Some years ago I put out a little book "Advice to Sunday Barbers," but there were few of these books printed," Mr. Bates suggested that if this "little book" had been printed in Birmingham, which he "did not suppose," it would have taken precedence of the "Loyal Oration" as to date. There is evidence that H. B. was a printer about 1719, in a printed scrap on an old engraving of Newcomen's steam engine in the Salt Library at Stafford, but no evidence in the way of a printed book before 1719.

The next Birmingham book (1725), although a sermon, was not controversial but of more general interest, and as all these books are very rare the title must be given in full:—

"Public Education, particularly in Charity Schools: A Sermon Preach'd at St. Phillip's Church in Birmingham August 9th 1724, at the Opening of a Charity School to receive an Hundred Children which are there not only to be taught and cloath'd but also fed and lodg'd with Accommodation for a Master and Mistress, by Thomas Bisse D.D. Published at the Request of the Trustees. London Printed for W. and J. Innys at the West End of St. Paul's, 1725."

In 1728 the earliest known book connected with the name of a famous local printer appeared, and also a second, which probably show that Thomas Warren was becoming the most prominent printer of the town. One was—

"Sermons on Sickness and Recovery, Preach'd at Coventry by the late Rev. Mr. Thomas Allestree M.A. Rector of Ashow in the County of Warwick. London Printed for the Author and Sold by T. Warren Bookseller in Birmingham, 1728."

This seems to assume that the work was not printed by Thomas Warren, but as the imprint says "Printed for the Author," who is described as "the late Rev.," it is clear that minute accuracy was not cared for then, and still perhaps the imprint may be read as Printed, as well as Sold, by Warren, and the word "London" added, as has been done in later days, when "London" had no connection with the work except to sell it.

The other pamphlet may have been published earlier in the year, as the author is not described as "the late Rev." in the following title:—

"A Funeral Handkerchief in Two Parts.

I Part containing Arguments and Comforts as at Death of Friends.

II Part Containing Several uses which we ought to make of such Losses, to which is added [*sic*] Three Sermons Preach'd at Coventry by Thomas Allestree, M.A., Rector of Ashow in the County of Warwick.

London: Printed for the Author and Sold by T. Warren, Bookseller in Birmingham, 1728."

Although this imprint is as ambiguous as the other, it is highly probable that Thomas Warren was not only a bookseller but a printer as early as 1728. The imprint may reasonably, but not certainly, be understood to mean that the works were printed as well as sold by him, and as the author lived so near Birmingham as Coventry, where it might be supposed he would have had his books printed, it is certainly probable that Birmingham being nearer than London, and Warren only given as the "bookseller"—no "London" publisher being named—that Warren was printer and bookseller too. Certainly in 1732 he issued books, and would scarcely have been selected as a bookseller unless he had been established some years, in a town where printing had commenced at least ten years before.

Not only the art of the printer but that of the engraver had already begun to flourish in Birmingham before 1731, for in that year William Westley issued a Map or Plan of Birmingham, which well deserves high praise, and which was certainly a local production as to surveying and engraving also. This Plan is so well known that it needs no further description, except that it is not only an excellent example of engraving, but is singularly interesting and valuable as a record of the streets and buildings of the town for which no other authority is known. The later maps, that of Bradford in 1750 and of Hanson in 1778, have been fully described in a previous paper (see page 55), and reference has also been made to the splendid large view of Birmingham by Bradford, of which only two copies are known to exist.

In 1732 the translation of Lobo's Voyage to Abyssinia, which Dr. Johnson translated under pressure from his friend, Edmund Hector, was published, and as Boswell described Hector as appealing to Johnson's good nature not to keep the printer waiting, it is just possible, but certainly not provable, that the volume may have been printed in Birmingham, and possibly by Thomas Warren, who was a personal friend of Hector's, and who must have been known to Johnson on

some of his many visits to his old friend. There is even a vague tradition—not improbable when it is remembered that Johnson's father was a bookseller,—that Hector, a Lichfield man, lodged with Warren on his first arrival in Birmingham, and in that old half-timbered house in High Street, opposite Swan Passage, which was pulled down in 1850, and probably Warren was living there as early as 1728.

Four years later, in 1732, there is positive evidence of his house and shop in the very valuable imprint of the following title:—

"Multum In Parvo: or the Jubilee of Jubilees.
Printed by T. Warren, over against the Swan Passage in Birmingham."

Warren's printing office would thus be nearly opposite that of Thomas Aris, and just before "Aris's Birmingham Gazette" was established, in 1741. Unfortunately, no directories existed in those days, and no series of advertisements in the few news-sheets, and only a solitary copy of the "Birmingham Journal" of that early date has been preserved, so that absolute facts as to people and residences are very rarely to be found.

The year 1738, however, gives us positive evidence that Thomas Warren was then a printer, by the following books or pamphlets bearing his name:—"A Journey Through the World," "Lectures by S. Bowen," and "A Sermon at St. Phillip's, on the Death of John Jennings, Apothecary,"—all of which have "T. Warren" and the date 1738. In the next year, on the title of "Lectures to Children and Young People, by S. Bowen," there is a slight difference in the description of Warren's address, which is given as "Bull Ring," which is somewhat confusing, as no "Bull Ring" is mentioned in Westley's Plan of 1731, and all the road from Phillip Street to New Street is described as "High Town"—now High Street.

In 1742, one of the most important works of the early Birmingham Press appears in "Johnson's Lives of the Highwaymen," a large folio, with line engravings, generally well printed, and with rubricated title pages. This volume bears the imprint of Thomas Aris, but it is by no means clear that so important a work was really printed in the town; some other copies, very similar, are found with other title pages, and it is scarcely probable that any country printer would be entrusted with so large a work for such general circulation in large numbers all through the country. In 1743 the imprint on two volumes is "T. Aris, within two doors of the Swan Inn," showing that he occupied the premises long known as the "Gazette" Office. Of these two works, one in two vols., "Ornithologia Nova," a treatise on Birds, with numerous Bewickian wood cuts, is so superior in style that the wood cuts can scarcely have been produced in Birmingham, nor possibly the printing of a work of such general interest. In 1744 the "Christian Catechism" was issued by Thomas Warren; and in 1748, "Thoughts, Moral and Divine," a religious production, by S. Bourn, and "Little Masters Miscellany" (which appeared in many subsequent editions) came from the press of "Thomas Warren, Bookseller, in the Bull Ring." In 1755

and in 1767, a "Thomas Warren, junr." appears, "near the New Chapel," and also as a printer and bookseller. In 1749 another volume, the "Parents Best Gift," was issued by "H. Butler, in New Street;" and in the same year "The Polite Companion," in two vols., was issued by Thomas Aris. In 1754 "The Art of Pleasing at Court" came from T. Aris; and the "Narrative of the Life and Distress of Simon Mason," from "Thomas Warren, junr., near the New Chapel." In 1756 "Divine Miscellanies or Sacred Poems," which had a large sale, was also published by T. Warren, junr.; and in 1757 "Practical Observation on Physic, by the late S. Mason;" and in 1758, "Thoughts, etc., by Culcott," also from the younger Warren's press.

The year 1757 will ever be remarkable in local printing history, as that in which Baskerville issued his first work, the Virgil, in quarto, and began that series of "Classics" which were destined to win for him European honour and universal fame as one of the foremost and most artistic printers of his time. This edition of Virgil is a wonderful work to have been produced in a country town in the middle of the last century. Printing, as we have already stated, was common enough in Birmingham, but in no part of England or on the Continent had any attempt been made to elevate printing into one of the fine arts. Baskerville attempted to do this and succeeded, but at a heavy cost and loss. In his famous letter to Horace Walpole, he regrets that he ever entered into the business, but later days have done justice to his memory and honour to his taste, enterprise, and skill. His experience as a cutter of gravestones, and as a writing master when "fine hands" were fashionable, formed the basis of his success as a designer of type and a printer. His original slate window-sign shows how exquisitely graceful are the flourishes, and how faultless the proportions of the letters, which he was afterwards to cast in type and make famous wherever the printing art is known. This quarto Virgil has been universally accepted as one of his best works. He not only cast his own type, made his own presses and ink, but probably some of the paper he used, so that it is not merely from the beauty of the type, but from the artistic care as to ink and paper, and the very careful style of printing that Baskerville's unsurpassed works owe their honour and fame. The story of his life and labours is too long to be given here, or even the list of his works, but the excellent Life of him by Mr. H. R. Tedder, in Mr. Leslie Stephens' "Dictionary of National Biography," has done full justice to his fame since this paper was read.

The second half of the century showed a large and constant increase in the issue of books from local presses, and it is scarcely necessary to give details of all, as the Reference Library contains every book of the last century in any way connected with Birmingham, and described in the admirable catalogue which Mr. Mullins has compiled with so much knowledge, method, and care. While some of the older printers remained others appeared, and among them James

Sketchley, whose first work, "The Door Opened," appeared in 1760, and who, in 1764, commenced the

> "Birmingham Register or Entertaining Museum containing a Great Variety of Original Letters, in Prose and Verse, with a Number of Moral, Political and Entertaining Pieces; Extracted from the most remarkable Pamphlets, Magazines, &c., &c., which have appeared in the course of this work, with an Alphabetical Index to the whole.
> Birmingham: Printed by and for J. Sketchley, *Sworn Appraiser, Auctioneer and Salesman* in the High Street &c. M.DCC.LXV."

This, the first of Birmingham Magazines, was on the model of Edward Cave's "Gentleman's Magazine," of 1731, was published monthly, but without dates, to be a volume of 372 pages, was completed and indexed as described in the title page. This was followed by the "Birmingham Register" (only) to the extent of 122 (or more) pages, and then under the title of the "Birmingham Register and Entertaining Museum." Vol. I. and No. I. began on Thursday, May 10th, 1764, and continued to No. 25 on April 4th, 1765, at the "Price only Two-pence Halfpenny." The second volume commenced as "Sketchley's Birmingham Register," on Thursday, April 25th, 1765, and continued to November 7th, 1765. "Advertisements of a moderate length were inserted at 3s. 6d. each," and the scraps of news of the royal family and foreign posts, and local marriages of ladies with "pretty fortunes" and "agreeable" manners, with the "prices of grain" and "stocks," made up volumes which were interesting a hundred years ago, and are scarcely less interesting and even more amusing now. James Sketchley deserves much praise for this early magazine, full of very curious details and the sole record of many important facts.

The earliest known Directory of Birmingham and neighbourhood, in 1770 Sketchley published with his partner Orion Adams; this Directory may have been issued somewhat earlier, as the only two copies known are "Sixth Editions." This Directory is one of the early examples of Directories, which were scarcely known till after 1750, as the London Directory of 1677 does not seem to have had any follower for many years. Directories, however, became very popular in the later half of the last century, and were published in many large cities and towns. The Local Directories issued during that period were of 1770, 1774, 1775, 1780, 1781, 1783, 1785, 1787, 1790 and 1797. The earliest of these has a classification and brief description of the various trades, but the later Directories are generally alphabetical lists of names—the modern fashion of classification under names, trades and streets not having been introduced till about thirty or forty years ago.

The books printed and published by James Sketchley were numerous during the rest of the century, and his first known issue was "The Door Opened," in 1760. His shop was in High Street; and he issued a "Life of Christ" in 1764, "price one shilling," and a "Life of John Wilkes" in 1769. Among the issues

of the same period were "Fanny Brown," in 1760 (also issued at Derby); "Explication of the Church Catechism," in 1761; "Mensuration Made Easy," "Essay on the Slide Rule" (T. Warren, junr.), in 1762; a large thick quarto, "The Works of Josephus" (C. Earl, Dale End), in 1766; "Decimals and Mensuration, by W. Crumpton" (three shillings), in 1768; a "Key to Open Heaven's Gate" (Esther Butler, New Street), in the same year; "Medical Miscellanies, by Tomlinson" (Pearson and Aris), in 1769,—which firm also issued Sheet Almanacks and Pocket Books, some few of which have been preserved; another "Birmingham Magazine," printed by Orion Adams, in High Street, in 1770; a "Repository," "Grace Triumphant" (printed with Baskerville's type, some of which he sold to Robert Martin before he gave up printing); a rare pamphlet, "Romeo and Juliet," in the Baskerville type; and "Poems, by Priscilla Pointing."

Charles Earl, of Dale End, who seems to have been an enterprising printer and publisher, issued "Defoe's History of the Devil," in 1772; a Bible, by Fellows, in four small volumes, in 1772; a "Life of Cromwell," in 1778; "Boscobel," in 1786; and many other works.

A volume of Hymns, by Fellows, came out in 1773; and "Believer's Baptism," in 1774, and "Hymns" again in 1776; with the "Triumphs of the Cross," "Sherlock on Death," and the "Art of Healing," by T. Marryatt (printed by M. Swinney), also in 1776. In 1777 "A Cap of Grey Hairs" was issued by Pearson and Rollason ("Aris" omitted); and the "Chronicle of the Kings," by T. Chapman, 15, Mount Pleasant, afterwards Haymarket, Ann Street, and now Colmore Row. In 1779 a "Guide Book to The Leaseowes"—the first local topographical work—came out, and was followed, in 1781, by the first edition of the "History of Birmingham," by William Hutton, of which several other editions appeared before this century closed.

Some remarkable publications deserve mention in 1782 (and they were continued for a few years), in the full details from the books of the Overseers, of the assessments and amount of rates, etc., payable all through the town, which was divided into "Quarters," in which every house, court, street and lane were described, with the name and sometimes trade of the resident. These curious records are singularly interesting, as they describe the places of residence and the value of houses and shops, and are thus even more valuable than the various Directories which were beginning to appear.

In 1783 the "Evening of Human Life" was issued by Pearson and Rollason; the "Universal Letter Writer," from Grafton and Reddell, in Peck Lane; and the large quarto Bible by M. Swinney, in High Street, which was followed by other editions—all with notes, and some with many fine original engravings by local artists, Moses Haughton, Hancocks, etc., etc. In 1784 a good volume on "Book-keeping" appeared, with some curious incidental reference to trade in those days and to "that Demon Discount;" with which a "Ready Reckoner" and a

"Scripture Lexicon" appeared, and this by Piercey and Johnson—a new firm. In 1785 "Extracts from Bishop Hall" was issued, by T. Chapman, Bull Street, and an edition of "Freeth's Poems" appeared, a volume having been issued in 1771 by Baskerville, with the name of "J. Free," of which only two copies are known. In 1786 Robert Martin issued Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress;" and in 1789 a "Life of Cromwell," in two volumes, appeared. In 1789 R. Martin published Bunyan's "Holy War," with engravings; and in 1790, "Cook's Voyages." In the same year T. Pearson issued an Almanac at ninepence (stamp duty included), "Kenilworth," "John Coustos;" and in 1791 Vergani's "Italian Grammar," "Guide to Married Persons;" and in 1796 "Dodsley's Human Life." In 1790 the "Life of Borulawski," the Polish Dwarf, was published by J. Thompson; and in 1792, in French, by the same publisher and printer. In 1792, Swinney and Walker issued "Dramas for Young Ladies," and "Bowlker on Angling" (which Baskerville had issued in 1774). In 1795 the name of James Belcher—the favourite printer of Dr. Parr—appears, with an "English Grammar," by Rhodes. In 1797, "A Brief History of Birmingham," issued by Grafton and Reddell, was the first "Visitor's Hand Book;" and in the same year the Rev. S. C. Madan's "Hugo Grotius," and a "Tutor's Assistant" also appeared with "Collard's Praxis of Logic," in 1799.

Since this paper was read, the Birmingham Section of the Reference Library has fortunately acquired a large number of books and pamphlets printed during the last century, and whose interest and value are increased by the care given to their description and cataloguing so as to render them accessible. This paper does not refer, in detail, to the numerous pamphlets which issued from the local press during the later half of the last century, and especially those relating to the Riots of 1791. Those, however, thus briefly referred to, will show how very earnest and energetic our grandfathers were, and how large a number of useful and valuable books were produced in the small town—the "Hardware Village" of a hundred years ago.

Wandering Life in England in the Fourteenth Century.

BY DR. J. J. JUSSERAND.

Translated from the pages of the "Revue Historique," for July—August, 1882, and Contributed

BY THE REV. JAS. O. BEVAN, M.A., F.G.S.

March 28th, 1883.

[*NOTE.—M. Jusserand wishes it to be understood that an extended and a more detailed account of the subjects treated of in this paper, and in the continuation which will appear in the next volume of these Proceedings, will be found in an article under his authorship, published in the year 1879, in the "New Quarterly Magazine;" and especially in a volume entitled "La Vie Nomade en Angleterre" (Les Anglais au Moyen Age), published in 1884, by Hachette and Co., at a cost of 3s. 6d.*]

THERE are few nomads now-a-days. The small traders who pursued their avocations by the way, and in every village they passed through, have disappeared before our new modes of manufacturing on a large scale; professional pilgrims no longer exist; even quacks will soon have lost their influence. In the Middle Ages it was far otherwise. Many persons were devoted to a wandering existence, and (on emerging from childhood) commenced a journey that would end only with their life. Some in broad daylight, in the dust of high-roads, paraded their grotesque trades; others, in bye-paths, or even in shady copses, from the sheriffs' officers hid their head;—the head, perhaps, of a criminal or runaway;—a "wolf's head," that everyone might "knock over," according to the terrible expression of an English law writer, in the thirteenth century.* Among

* The author of Fleta. He wrote in the last years of the century.

the latter, many labourers who having broken their bondage, unhappy and oppressed in their villages, sought for work throughout the country, as if flight could free them; "servitude was in their very blood,"* as another legal authority informed them. Among the former, pedlars loaded with various small articles of commerce; pilgrims who from St. Thomas' to St. James' shrine went begging along the roads and living on alms; pardoners, those strange wanderers, who sold to the lower classes the merits of saints in Paradise; mendicant friars and preachers of all kinds who, according to the custom of the age, stood outside church doors and delivered impassioned orations or the most contemptibly egotistical harangues. All these existences had this common character, that in the large expanse of country through which they passed, and in which the lives of others were irremovably spent, every day under the same sky and in the same occupation, they served as a link between these scattered groups that the laws and customs bound to the soil. In pursuing their singular calling, these wanderers, who had seen so much and experienced so many adventures, were the means of conveying to the peasantry they met with in their course some idea of the vast world, to them unknown, together with many false doctrines and fables. They instilled into the minds of those stationary beings some ideas of space, and of stirring modes of life that otherwise they could scarcely have acquired. Above all they supplied them with news of their kindred and the neighbouring district; of their state of suffering or well being; and people would envy or pity them, and would say one to the other that these were the brothers and friends to call upon in the time of an insurrection.

When knowledge was transmitted verbally to the great masses of mankind, and travelled with vagrants along the highways, these wanderers really formed a connecting link between the population of various parts. It should therefore be greatly to the interest of an historian to know exactly what these channels of popular thought were, what sort of life those (who fulfilled this office) led, and what were their manners and the nature of their influence. We shall study the principal types of this race of beings; and we shall choose those in England during the fourteenth century, *i.e.*, in a country and period in which their social importance was considerable. There are naturally several aspects to the interest attaching to them; first, it is interesting to closely examine the personal appearance of these pardoners, professional pilgrims, and minstrels,—species now extinct;—then and above all, their degree of intelligence and the manner in which they exercised their skill, are closely allied to the entire social condition of a great people, that had but just formed and acquired those features and the character that still to this day distinguish it.

It was, in short, the period when, profiting by the wars with France and the incessant embarrassment of royalty, the subjects of Edward III. and Richard II.

* Yearbooks of Edward I., Horwood edition. London, 1863, &c., 8vo. (Collection of the Master of the Rolls), 30th and 31st years of Edward I.

gained a similar Parliament to that which we see holding its meetings at the present day; a period too, when the independent spirit of the English in religious matters showed itself in Wycliffe's reforms, the statutes of the clergy, and the protests of the Good Parliament; that in which the works of Chaucer founded the series of the great English Poets; the time, in fact, when between noble and peasant a mutual understanding was felt, that brought about, without any violent revolution, that true liberty for which the French have so long envied their neighbours. This is the decisive era in the history of the country. We shall see that in all these questions the little known part played by these wanderers was by no means insignificant.

We must first examine the place in which the scene is laid; the events passing in it, *i.e.*, we must know what the roads were, and then who were the beings that frequented them.

FIRST PART.—THE WAYS.

I.—THE ROADS AND THE BRIDGES.

The maintenance of the roads and bridges of England, in the fourteenth century, was one of these general charges supported by direct taxation, levied (like military service) upon the whole nation. The religious owner of property given in "Francalmoigne" (free alms)—"in puram et perpetuam eleemosynam," were exempt from providing either service or rent to the former owners of the soil, and they usually had no other imposition than that of saying prayers and dispensing charity for the repose of the soul of the donor. They however had to fulfil the "trino-da necessitas" or triple obligation, which consisted chiefly in repairing the bridges and roads. This was because these labours were not considered worldly, but rather as pious and meritorious acts in God's sight, and on an equality with visiting the sick and relieving the necessities of the poor; they regarded them as a true charity to those unfortunate beings, travellers.* That is why the clergy quietly submitted to it. The saintly character of this sort of work should prove that the highways were neither so safe nor in so good a condition as Mr. Thorold Rogers represents.† The grandest efforts of the religious minds of the Middle Ages were to produce those disinterested enthusiasms, which instituted there and then, as soon as any human misery had become glaring, charitable societies, and made self-denial popular. They saw, for instance, one of these evils in the power of the infidels, and the Crusades were the consequence. Again, their attention was drawn to the neglected state of the lower classes in towns, and St. Francis instituted for this consolation

* When Henry VIII. gave to the Cathedral of Canterbury the lands of the suppressed monastery of Christ Church, he said he made the donation "in order that charity to the poor, the repair of roads and bridges and other pious duties of every kind might multiply and spread abroad." And his gift is made "in liberam, puram, et perpetuam eleemosynam." (Elton, "Tenures of Kent"). London, 1867, 8vo.

† "History of Agriculture and prices in England." Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1866, 3 vols.

those begging friars, so justly esteemed at first, but whose popularity waned so quickly. It was in the same way that they considered travellers as unfortunates, worthy of pity; and that they came to their aid to please God. A religious order had been founded in the latter part of the twelfth century—that of the Pontifical Friars or makers of bridges—which spread throughout several continental countries.* In France they constructed over the Rhône the bridge of Avignon, which still preserves four of the arches erected by them, and that of the "Pont Saint-Esprit," which is in constant use. To break the force of a current, such as the Rhône, they built the piers very near together with an oblong span, which ended in an acute angle at the two extremities of their axes; and their masonry was so solid that in many places, for over seven centuries, the floods have spared it. Besides which they had establishments on the banks of water-courses, and assisted persons across in boats. The laity learnt the secrets of their art, and commenced to take their place, from the thirteenth century. The number of bridges increased in France, and many still remain; such, for instance, as the beautiful bridge of Cahors, still perfect, and which even has preserved, till the present day, the machicolated turrets which formerly served to defend it.

One can discover no trace of the coming of the Pontifical Brotherhood to England, but it is certain that there, as elsewhere, the labour of constructing bridges and roads had a religious character. To encourage the faithful in participating in it, Richard de Kellawe, Bishop of Durham (1311-1316), remitted a part of the punishment of their sins. The register of his episcopal archives often contains insertions of this kind:—"Memorandum . . . . My lord has granted forty days' indulgence to all who shall draw upon the wealth that God has given them, and contribute valuable and charitable assistance towards the erection and maintenance of Botyton Bridge." Forty days on another occasion for the bridge and road between Billingham and Norton; and forty days for the highway between Brotherton and Ferrybridge. The wording of the latter decree is characteristic. "To all those whom, etc. . . . . Convinced that the minds of the faithful are all the more ready to engage in religious works when they have received the healthful encouragement of greater indulgences; relying on the mercies of Almighty God, and the merits and prayers of the glorious Virgin, His Mother, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the most holy confessor Cuthbert, our patron, we remit forty days of the punishment imposed upon them to all our parishioners and others, sincerely sorry and confessed of their sins, who shall charitably assist by their gifts or their bodily labour in the construction and maintenance of the road between Brotherton and Ferrybridge, which is traversed by much people."†

* "Historical researches concerning the hospitable fraternities of the Pontifical Friars;" by Mons Grègoire, formerly Bishop of Blois. Paris, 1818, 8vo.

† "Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense." Hardy Edition, Rolls Series, 1873, 8vo., vol. 1, pp. 615, 641, 507.

The Guilds also, those secular brotherhoods which quickened the religious feelings, repaired roads and bridges. This was the duty of the Guild of the Holy Cross at Birmingham, founded under Richard II., and its intervention was very useful, as the commissioners of Edward VI., two centuries later, remarked. The Guild kept in "good repair, two large stone bridges and several highways, which would otherwise have been rugged and dangerous; expenses that it was impossible for the town to meet. The want of which maintenance will be a great annoyance to his Majesty's subjects who come from or go to the Welsh Marches, and the complete ruin of the said town, which is one of the finest and one that contributes most largely to his Majesty's revenues of all the towns in the shire.*

Whether Queen Matilda (twelfth century) did, or did not, get wet in fording the river at Stratford-at-Bow (the same village where, later on, they must have spoken the French that so amused Chaucer), it is certain that she thought she was doing a meritorious action in building two bridges there.† Bow Bridge—many times repaired—still existed in 1839. She endowed her work by granting an estate and water mill to the abbess of Barking, subject to the charge of keeping for ever the bridge and neighbouring roadway in repair. The queen died: an abbey for men was formed at Stratford itself, quite close to the bridge; and the abbess hastened to transmit to the monastery the mill property and the duty of repairs. The abbot attended to them at first, then he grew tired of it, and ended by delegating the care of them to a certain Godfrey Pratt. He had a house built for him on the road, beside the bridge, and gave him a yearly grant. For a long while Pratt carried out the contract, "with the help," says a commission of inquiry in Edward I.'s reign, "of some of the passers-by, but without often resorting to their assistance." He received also donations from travellers, and became in prosperous circumstances. So much so, that the abbot thought he might withdraw his subsidy. Pratt idemnified himself the best way he could. He placed bars of iron across the bridge and exacted a toll of every person, save the rich; he made an exception in favour "of nobility, for he was afraid, and so let them pass without molestation." The dispute was not ended till the reign of Edward II.; the abbot acknowledged his error, again undertook the care of the bridge, and abolished the iron bars, the tolls, and Godfrey Pratt too.

This bridge, over which Chaucer no doubt has passed, was of stone; its arches were narrow and its piers wide; strong buttresses supported them and

* "Allso theare be mainteigned . . and kept in good reparaciouns two greate stone bridges, and divers ffoule and daungerous high wayes, the charge whereof the towne of hitsellfe ys not able to mainteign. So that the lacke thereof wilbe a greate noysaunce to the Kinges ma^ties subjects passing to and ffrom the marches of Wales, and utter ruyne to the same towne, being one of the fayrest and moste proffittable townes to the Kinges highnesse in all the shyre." English Gilds; the original ordinances . . . from MSS of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; edited by Toulmin Smith. Early English Text Society—London, 1870.

† Archæologia, vols. xxvii. p. 77, and xxix. p. 380.

divided the force of the current; they formed in the upper part a triangle or siding, in which pedestrians might shelter, for the thoroughfare was so narrow that a carriage was enough to block it. When it was destroyed in 1839, it was seen that the process of construction had been very simple. To fix the piers in the bed of the river the masons had only thrown in mortar and stones until they reached the water level. It was also noticed that the ill-will of Pratt, the abbot, or their successors, must have occasionally made the bridge almost as dangerous as the original ford. The wheels of the vehicles had hollowed out such deep ruts in the stone, and the shoes of the horses had so worn the paving, that one of the arches was found to be penetrated.

The religious nature of these structures is apparent from the chapel attached to them. Thus Bow Bridge was placed under the protection of St. Catherine. London Bridge had its chapel, which was almost a church, a large Gothic building, with dome-shaped roof, lofty windows, and wrought bell turrets.* A small manuscript picture shows it fixed to the middle pier, whilst a row of small houses, with pointed roofs, built all along, projected over the Thames their overhanging second stories. But that was an exceptional bridge; others had a much less imposing appearance, and it was a piece of good fortune to meet with such as that at Stratford, notwithstanding its want of breadth and its deep ruts. The bridge over the Teign, between Newton Abbot and Plymouth, rebuilt in 1815, was similar to the latter: the same multiplicity of narrow arches, and the same buttresses, but its origin was still more ancient. It was of Roman origin, as the lower part of its piers demonstrated; they had always been allowed to remain, both at the time of the Conquest, when the bridge was rebuilt with wood, and two centuries later when it was again restored in red stone.†

We have already observed some of the means employed at this period to ensure the preservation of these valuable structures, even when the preservation did not constitute one of the inseparable charges in the tenure of the neighbouring estates (trinoda necessitas). We know that they obtained the means sometimes by promising indulgence to benefactors; at other times, thanks to the assistance of the Guilds; or again by the endowments with which some great lord would enrich the bridge he had erected. But there were still several other ways adopted with success, and even with profit; these were the regular collection of tolls, such as Godfrey Pratt had arbitrarily imposed upon his fellow citizens; or the pious offerings made either to the chapel belonging to the bridge or to its custodian.

* MS Reg. 16, F.2. In the British Museum (Poems of Charles d'Orléans). Time of Henry VII.

† One often meets with pictures of bridges in the MSS. of the fourteenth century; see for instance in the British Museum MSS. Addition 12228, folio 267 and 10E iv., folio 192, etc. These bridges have round arches of strong masonry, thick-set piers, and sometimes rather pretty cornices. There are now in England no bridges of the Middle Ages so well preserved as those we have in France; our neighbours have nothing to be compared, for example, with the splendid monkish bridge at Cahors (thirteenth century) nor with the other bridges mentioned above.

examination, and rejected by a decision that it be not admitted. "Non est Peticio Parliamenti." (Rotuli Parliamentorum, p. 88, A.D. 1334). In short, formerly the bridge itself was at the same time the owner of real estate, and the recipient of all offerings made in its chapel; it had both secular and religious resources. John of Bodenho, a chaplain, represents to Parliament that the inhabitants of Bedford hold their own town under the King on a lease, subject to the maintenance of their bridge in proper repair. And for that "they have assigned certain tenements and property in the said town to maintain the said bridge, and by their own charity have made a new oratory on the farther side of the water, belonging to the Earl of Mowbray, by leave of the lord of the manor, adjoining the said bridge, for the maintenance of the bridge. The burgesses have given the whole of the revenues, together with the duty of the repairs, to the plaintiff. But John of Derby, clerk, has given the King to understand that it was a royal chapel, and that he could dispose of it, so that the King has given it to him; which was a great injustice, seeing that the chapel does not belong to the King, and that the very persons who built it are still living." All these reasons were found to be correct, and the judges received an order to right the plaintiff, and they were reprimanded for not having done so sooner, as they had already been directed. (Rotuli Parliamentorum, p. 100, year 1338.)

To better guarantee the preservation of bridges, the law included them in the list of subjects for the periodical inquiries that the visiting justices, sheriffs, and bailiffs made in England, as we shall observe further on.

One would have therefore thought that the bridges, enriched by so many gifts, under the supervision of the visiting justices, and protected by the verdicts of juries, ought to have been in a constant state of repair and remained perfect. But they were nothing of the sort, and the difference between legal precepts and practices was great. When the taxes were regularly collected and honestly applied, they were sufficient for the support of the structure, but even the right of collecting them was, as we have seen, much contested. As we may have already observed, by the example of Godfrey Pratt and others, the custodians were not always honest. Again, some bridges had been erected without any thought of endowing them, and the offerings made to them proved insufficient; so that, little by little—no one restoring them—their arches wore out, their parapets broke away;—for every vehicle that passed, some more stone-work disappeared in the river, and soon it was not without danger that carriages and horsemen ventured upon the half demolished structure. In such an age, neglect and forgetfulness reached a height that is unknown and impossible in the present day, and this might occur even in the most frequented routes. The parishes of the counties of Nottingham, Derby, Lincoln, and the town of Nottingham, inform the Good Parliament (1376) that there is near the town of Nottingham a large bridge over the Trent called "Heybethebrigg," with the making or repairing of

which no one is charged (except only a grant of alms), over which all coming and going between the south and north must pass." This bridge is "in ruins," and "often many persons have been drowned, people on horseback as well as in carts,—man and harness." The plaintiffs ask for power to appoint two guardians of the bridge, who shall administer the property that shall be given for its support, "for God and as an act of charity." But the King did not grant their request. (Rotuli Parliamentorum ii., p. 350.)

Or, again, it happened that the owners of riverside property, taxed with its support, allowed, notwithstanding the institution of visiting justices and the stipulations of the Crown, their duty to fall into desuetude, and as this duty devolved on them alone, and there was no public help instead of theirs, the bridge became a ruin, and an address had to be made to the King for a special inquiry, and to discover whose business it was. The Parliament decided thus in 1339, upon the petition of the Prior of St. Neots:—"Item . . . . let there be good and loyal persons appointed to inspect the bridge and roadway of St. Neots, whether they be worn and carried away by the swelling tides, as the prior infers or not. And in case they should be worn and carried away, to enquire who ought to repair them, and what it is their duty to do; and how much the bridge and roadway shall be able to be rebuilt and mended. And to make a return to Chancery of what they shall have found. (Rotuli Parliamentorum, p. 3). The mode of keeping the roads in order was very similar to that adopted in the case of the bridges, *i.e.*, that it depended very much on the option, convenience, goodwill or devotion of the nearest lord of the manor. Ruts, or rotten quagmires were the attendants of neglect, the numerous small subterranean arches (which pedestrians do not even now-a-days always meet with, which allow for the draining of streams, dry during a part of the year) did not then exist, and the stream ran across the road. Their maintenance would have been quite impossible, and religious zeal, no greater than the indulgences of the Bishop of Durham, would not have sufficed to keep them in good condition, had it not been a matter of personal and daily interest to the whole body of landowners to possess tolerable roads. The Kings of England had been wise enough not to grant compact fiefs, such as they themselves held in France, and which made vassals so dangerous. They were no doubt taught by their own example; and we see them awarding, to those who helped in their great conquest, estates scattered over every corner of the island. This patchwork of landed property still existed in the fourteenth century, and Froissart has noticed it: "And many times," said he, "it has chanced when riding over the country with him, for the lands and revenues of the English barons are much scattered here and there, he called to me and said, 'Froissart, do you see that large town with the tall spire?'" The unfortunate De Spencer, who asked that question, was not alone in having lands that he owed to the King's favour strewn at random over every shire—all nobles of his rank were

similarly circumstanced. Besides, the King himself with all his court, as well as the barons, continually went from one manor to another, either from choice, or still more frequently, from necessity. In time of peace this was an employment not altogether displeasing, but, above all, it was a means of enlarging the area of subsistence. All, however rich they were, had need to practice economy; and, like landowners in every age, had to live on their estates and the productions of their lands. They therefore travelled from place to place, and it was to their interest to have practical roads, where their horses would not break down, and there would be some chance of their baggage vans (which were used for complete household removals) not upsetting. The monks, too, were great husbandmen, and were interested in the good state of the roads. Their agricultural labours were very extensive; an abbey, like that of Meaux,* had, in the middle of the fourteenth century, 2,638 sheep, 515 oxen, 98 horses, and land in accordance. Besides, as we have observed before, the care of keeping the roads in good condition, devolved more on the clergy than any other class, because it was considered a pious and meritorious work, and that is why the religious tenure of their land did not exempt them from the "trinoda necessitas" common to all owners of property.

You must not, however, take too favourable a view of the situation; all these united motives assured the existence of roads considered to be sufficient for the requirements of that time, but you must not forget that they were contented with a very little. The carts and even carriages were heavy, cumbersome, but substantial machines, that could bear the hardest of jerks. For the few, who had but little baggage, there was riding on horseback. As for those who journeyed on foot, they were used to all sorts of calamities. Very little therefore sufficed, and if any other proof is wanting to show the condition into which highways are liable to fall, it is found in a statute of Edward III. (November 20th, 1353), which ordered the highway, *alta via*, between Temple Bar (the western boundary of London at this time) and Westminster to be paved. This road, being almost a street, had been paved, but the King declares that it is "so full of holes and quagmires, and the pavement is so injured and broken," that traffic is become very dangerous for persons and vehicles. He commands therefore each of the adjacent landlords to relay, at his own cost, as far as the gutter—"usque canellum,"—a paving of seven feet wide. The middle of the way "inter canellos," whose width is unfortunately not stated, was to be paved and the costs met by a tax laid upon all goods going to Westminster market. There was already a general tax on all carts and horses carrying any description of goods or stores to the town. The decree that imposed it (3, Edward III.)† states, first of all that the roads in the vicinity of London

* Meaux, near Beverley, (Chronica monasterii de Melsa), edited by E. A. Bond; collection of the Master of the Rolls. London, 1868. 3 vols., p. 15.

† See the documents published by Riley; "Memorials of London." London, 1868, 8vo., p. 291.

are in such a wretched condition, that carters, merchants, etc., "are often in danger of losing their baggage." Henceforth, to provide for repairs, a duty shall be levied on all vehicles and beasts of burden coming to the town; this shall be done by agreement: thus, for a cart filled with sand, gravel, or clay, threepence per week must be paid. As usual, an exception is made for carriages and horses conveying commodities and various things for the use of the great lords. During times of extremely bad weather travelling was entirely suspended, and the most important royal summons, such as that of the deputies to Parliament, was inoperative. This will be seen by the reports of the sittings of the second Parliament in the third year of Edward III. (1339), when it was necessary for him to inform those representatives of the commons and nobility who had been able to reach Westminster, "that by reason that the Prelates, Earls, Barons, and other Nobles and Knights of the shires and burgesses of the cities and boroughs were hindered by the bad weather from coming at the appointed day, he advised them to await their coming." (Rotuli Parliamentorum, vol. ii., p. 107.)

PART II.

THE HABITUAL AND THE OCCASIONAL TRAVELLER.

Thus kept, the roads diverged from the towns, and penetrated the country, intersected by streams in winter and filled with holes; heavy carts slowly followed their windings, accompanied by the creaking noise of the wood of the vehicle. There was a great number of these conveyances. Some of them were like a square waggon, merely massive boxes, made of planks, supported on two wheels; others, a little lighter, were formed of laths, ornamented with wicker-work; the wheels were protected by immense nails, with projecting heads.* Both were used in agricultural work; they were to be found everywhere, and hired very cheaply. Twopence per mile for one ton was the usual price; for carrying sacks of corn, it was generally one penny per mile the ton. (Thorold Rogers.—"History of Agriculture and Prices." vol. I., pp. 650-661). This does not prove that the roads were good, but rather that the carts, indispensable in farming, were numerous. They did not represent a large sum of money to the villagers, who made them themselves. They were made strong and massive, because it was the easiest way, and they were better able to stand the jolting of the roads. A very small remuneration was enough for the drivers. The King was constantly in want of their services; when he moved from one manor to another, the brilliant retinue of lords was followed by an army of borrowed carts. The official purveyors found them on the spot and appropriated them

* See the pictures of cars in manuscripts of the fourteenth century, and especially in manuscript 10 E. iv., in the British Museum, in which the pictures are probably the work of a French artist.

freely.* There were several statutes that enacted that no forced loans should be made, and above all that the hire should be paid for honestly, *i.e.*, tenpence per day for a waggon and two horses, and fourteenpence for one with three horses.† But often they did not dream of paying for them; "the poor commons" again began their protests, Parliament its statutes, and the purveyors their exactions. Besides waggons, they wanted corn, hay, oats, beer, and meat; it was quite an army that had to be fed, and the requisitions spread terror throughout the villages.‡ They did what they could to avoid compliance. The most simple way was to bribe the purveyor, which the poor were not able to do. Notwithstanding there were numberless regulations that successively promised that there should be no further grievance. The King was powerless under an imperfect Government. Laws enacted to last for ever, very soon lose their force, and those which were then made, perished in a day. Purveyors swarmed. Much was given to persons who did not belong to the King at all, and they were not the least greedy of the class. They all bought at ridiculous prices, and confined themselves to mere promises of payment. The statute of 1330 shows how these payments were never made; how also, when twenty-five quarters of corn were taken, they were reckoned as only twenty, because in measuring "each bushel was more than filled."¶ Moreover, the hay, straw, etc., the purveyors found a way of getting at the outlay of one half-penny what was worth twopence or threepence; and they caused provisions of wine to be bought, keeping the best to sell again on their own account, and making those from whom they had taken it pay for having only a part of it returned to them,

* They even took the waggons of travellers, whose journey was thus suddenly interrupted. Thus:—"Item . . . The Commons pray that as the King in times past and his ancestors, noble princes, had their own transports, *i.e.*, horses, carts, and wagons for the use of their household; but now the purveyors to the household of our said lord the King, in default of his own transports and good management, take horses, carts, and wagons from the poor Commons for ten leagues round where the King holds his Court, as well from people from a distance of twenty-five or sixty leagues, passing by the road, as from persons living in the same district, to the great detriment and impoverishment of the said Commons." A petition of the Good Parliament, in 1376. Rotuli Parliamentorum, vol. ii., p. 351.

† "Nullus vicecomes vel ballivus noster vel aliquis alius capiat equos vel carettas alicujus pro carriagio faciendo, nisi reddat liberacionem antiquitus statutam; scilicet pro una caretta ad duos equos decem denarios per diem, et pro caretta ad tres equos quatuordecim denarios per diem." The great charter of Edward I., 1297. "Statutes of the Realm." London, 1810, fol.; 25 Edward I., chap. 21.

‡ "Item . . . By reason that the people have been much injured in consequence of the corn, beans, beasts, and other kinds of victuals and goods even of persons of the lower orders have been taken, at such times . . . for which no payment has been made . . . etc." (Preamble of Statute 4, Edward III., chap. 3, Statutes of the Realm, A.D., 1330). The same abuses existed in France, and a number of edicts are to be read in Isambert's collection, conceived in precisely the same spirit, and relating to the same grievances; edicts of Philippe le Bel, in 1308; Louis X., in 1342; and of Philip VI., who desires that "our purveyors (preneurs pour nous) may not be allowed to seize things except they have recent credentials from us," from which may be inferred the existence of false purveyors as in England. John renewed all the restrictions of his predecessors, Dec. 25th, 1355.

¶ Statutes of the Realm; 4, Edward III., ch. 3. A quarter was equal to eight bushels, viz., more than two "hectolitres."

which was a singular reversal of the order of things.* With all this the King became acquainted, and consequently he reformed it. A short time after he again corrected the evil, with a like ultimate result. In 1362 he proclaimed that henceforth purveyors should pay ready money at the current market price, and he added this charming rule, that purveyors should lose that name and be called buyers—"that the hateful name of purveyor be changed to that of buyer." The two names convey two very different ideas (36, Edward III., 2nd and 3rd chap., Statutes of the Realm.)

The King and nobles travelled mostly on horseback, but they had carriages also. Nothing gives a better idea of the awkward, cumbersome luxury which was the glory of domestic life, during this century, than the construction of these heavy machines. The finest had four wheels, three or four horses to draw them, harnessed with rope, and on one rode a postillion armed with a short-handled many-thonged whip; solid beams rested on the axle-trees, and over this framework rose a canopy rounded like a tunnel, and we have the inelegant whole. But the details were extremely beautiful; the wheels were carved, and their spokes in nearing the circle became pointed; the beams were painted and decorated, the inside was hung with the brilliant tapestry, for which this era was celebrated; the seats were furnished with embroidered cushions, on which one could recline, half-sitting, half-lying; a description of pillows were placed in the corners as if to invite slumber; square windows were cut in the sides, and silk curtains hung there. It was thus, slender-shaped, noble ladies travelled, closely confined in dresses that displayed every curve of the body; their long thin hand toying with the favourite dog or bird. The cavalier also tightly clad in his stiff jerkin, looked on with a pleased expression, and (if his manners were courtly) expressed his sentiments in long sentences like those in novels. The broad forehead of the lady, from which perhaps the eyebrows and short hair at the temples had been removed through vanity (a fashion that provoked so many lampoons from satirical writers), would brighten up for a moment, and a smile would appear like a ray of sunshine.† Meanwhile the axle-trees creaked,

* Petition of the Commons, 25, Edward III., 1351-2. Rotuli Parliamentorum, vol. ii., p. 242. "Item . . . the Commons pray, that whereas in former times the cup-bearers to our lord the King and their deputies, must have taken much more wine for the King's service than was needed, of which they employed the poorest for the King's household, and the best they sent to their private estates to sell again; and bringing them back to those from whom they take them to make them pay a great price for each tun, to the great injury and impoverishment of the merchants. The inhabitants of Dorsetshire and Somersetshire complain also that the sheriff of those counties had taken from them five hundred quarters of new wheat, and three hundred bacon pigs for the King's use, as he said; and he would not give for his great master and lord more than tenpence for ten quarters, which he sold after for fifteen pennies. By which your subjects are greatly injured, and you, dear lord, not supplied with the aforesaid corn and bacon." 4, Edward III., Rolls of Parliament, f. ii., p. 40.

† A story is told by La Tour-Landry of a holy hermit who saw in a dream his nephew's wife in purgatory. The demons stuck burning needles into her eyebrows. An angel told him that "it was because she had removed the hair from her eyebrows, temples, and forehead, thinking to beautify herself and to please the world." Book of the Chevalier de la Tour-Landry. Monteiglon edition. Paris, 1851.

and the horses' hoofs grated on the gravel, the vehicle progressed by starts, tumbled into the ruts, bounded right across the ditches, and thumped down again with a dull, heavy sound. To have been heard, the gallant speeches, that the remembrance of the Round Table might have inspired, must have been shouted. So commonplace a necessity has always sufficed to break the charms of the finest thoughts; too much shaking disturbs the flower, and when offered by the cavalier it has lost its perfumed bloom.* The possession of such a carriage was a princely luxury. They were bequeathed by will, and were most valuable legacies. On September 25th, 1353, Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady Clare,† made her will and bequeathed to her eldest daughter "my great coach with the trappings, carpets, and cushions." In the twentieth year of Richard II., Roger Rowland received £400 sterling for a carriage for Queen Isabella's use, and Master la Zouche, in the sixth year of Edward III., £1,000 for Lady Eleanor's coach.‡

These were enormous sums; in the fourteenth century, the average price of an ox was 13s. 1¼d.; of a sheep, 1s. 5d.; of a cow, 9s 5d.; and a fowl, 1d. So we see what Lady Eleanor's coach was worth. There were very few places in England where the appearance of the royal retinue was not well known. The journeys of the court were incessant; we have already noticed the reasons. The royal progresses that have been published, strikingly show this need of constant change. That of John Lackland proves that he seldom remained a month in the same place, and more frequently he did not stay a week. You often find him in five or six different towns or castles in a fortnight.¶ So too in the time of Edward I., in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, this king, without leaving his kingdom, changed his residence seventy-five times, *i.e.*, on an average nearly three times a fortnight.§ And when the king removed he was followed by all the officials whom "Fleta" enumerates with so much pleasure. The sovereign took with him his two marshals, his marshal "forinsecus," who, in time of war, placed the army for battle, decided on halting places and rations, and at all times arrested evil doers found in the "virgata regia," viz., twelve leagues around; and his marshal "intrinsecus," who kept order in the palaces and castles, and

* It should be remembered that pictures of this kind of carriages are frequent in manuscripts. You will find several with two wheels and very much ornamented in the "Romance of the King Meliadus" (MS. of fourteenth century in British Museum). The celebrated four-wheeled carriage in the "Luttrell Psalter" (also of fourteenth century) has been frequently copied, especially by Turner and Parker, in their "Domestic Architecture of England from Edward I. to Richard II." Oxford, 1852. One also finds in manuscripts curious pictures of litters, placed on poles and carried by two horses, one in front and one behind (French manuscripts, 118; "Romance of Lancelot," in the National Library, fol. 285; two persons are in the litter, a lady and a wounded knight. (Fourteenth century.)

† Daughter of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hereford, and Jane of Acre, daughter of Edward I. She died November 4th, 1360. (A collection of all the wills of the Kings and Queens of England, etc., published by Nichols, London, 1780, page 22.

‡ The King's sister. The Exchequer Issue; Devon edition. London, 1837; p. 142.

¶ "Patent Rolls and Itinerary of King John." Edited by T. O. Hardy. London, 1835.

§ "Liber quotidianus garderobæ." London, 1787., p. 67.

Chancery was permanently established at Westminster.* Justice did more than accompany the king's progresses. During the Middle Ages, in England, it was of a rambling nature, and magistrates from London, who conveyed it to the provinces, as did the sheriffs and bailiffs to the boroughs of their districts, overran the country, redressing wrongs. But grave abuses crept into these institutions, and notwithstanding the precautions taken against them, that made those under the jurisdiction of sheriffs and bailiffs their own judges, numerous statutes one after another proved the existence of malpractices, and stopped them for a time.

Before the sheriffs and bailiffs (and before certain lords) was held the "View of Frank-pledge," which was a minute investigation, article by article, of the way the laws of police and suretyship, those pertaining to property, were executed; the juries convened for that purpose were questioned as to the cases of theft, murder, arson, rape, sorcery, apostacy, destruction of bridges and roadways (de pontibus et calcetis fractis), vagrancy, etc., that they might know.† The circuits of sheriffs and bailiffs ought not, according to Magna Charta, to take place oftener than twice a year, because their coming occasioned loss of time and money to the juries, who were thereby inconvenienced; and the subjects of the king, with whom these officers lodged.‡ The Justices in Eyre for their part examined in the same way the "articles of the Crown." The frequency of their appearances varied according to the epoch; Magna Charta fixed the number at four per year (art. 18); they sat in the open county court, over which they presided, and thus served as a link between the royal jurisdiction and the administrations of these old popular courts. According as the importance of these magistrates increased, that of the sheriff, in the character of judge, diminished. They asked of the juries, thus turned into public prosecutors, what crimes, misdemeanours, or breaches of the laws had come under their notice.¶ And in their circumstantial

* "Original Authority of the King's Council," p. 115.

† This seigneurial right belonged to certain manors, and was transmitted with the estate. See the petition of an abbess of the Isle of Wight, who demanded (because of the fines that would accrue to her) the View of Frankpledge attached to the manor of Shorwalle, which had been given her. Dame Isabella de Forte disputed with her this right. (Rotuli Parliamentorum, vol. ii., p. 182. A.D. 1347.

‡ "Nec liceat alicui vicecomiti vel ballivo tenere turnum suum per hundren' nisi bis per annum." (Fleta. Book ii., chap. 52.) The people greatly dreaded the abuses that could arise on this point; thus in a petition of the Commons at the Good Parliament of 1376: "Item . . . whereas in old times, it was the custom that the sureties (bohrs or frith-bohrs, meaning peace-pledges, translated by the Normans Frank-pledge) should present the articles of Leet and the View of Frank-pledge but twice a year, the aforesaid bailiffs make the poor people and the guardians of the peace, who ought to work at their tillage and husbandry, for the common good, come every three weeks to their Wapentakes and Hundreds, so say to make their reports, and stop their work and their cultivation of the soil, unless they give them such ransoms and fines as they cannot support nor endure." Reply of the king: "It has been enacted sufficiently."

¶ Especially, as in the View of Frank-pledge, if the bridges and roads were well kept and whose duty it was to repair them. ("Year Books of the Reign of King Edward I."). Horwood edition, 1863, etc., vol. i., p. 75.

cross-examinations, the names of the sheriff, coroner, bailiff, constable, and all the officers of the crown, constantly occurred; whose conduct was thus placed under popular control. "Has not one of these officials," the judge would ask, "released some thief or false coiners, or money clippers? Has he not for a sum of money neglected the prosecution of some vagabond or murderer? Has he not levied unjust fines? Has he not been bribed by persons who wish to avoid some public duty (that of juror, for example)? Has not the sheriff demanded more hospitality than was reasonable of those under his administration, by too frequent circuits, if he came with more than five or six horses?" And the jury must denounce by the integrity of their oath, the nobles who have arbitrarily imprisoned travellers passing through their estates; all persons who have not assisted in stopping a thief, or run with others at the "hue and cry"; for in this condition of society every man was in turn a custodian of the peace, soldier, and judge, and the humble peasant threatened by so many exactions had (for all that) his part in the administration of justice and the maintenance of order in the realm. We see then how important, from a social point of view, were these circuits, that ceaselessly reminded the poor of their citizenship, and that State affairs were theirs also. When monks left the cloister and travelled, they voluntarily modified their dress, and it became difficult to tell them from nobles. Chaucer gives us an amusing description of the dress of a worldly monk.* But the ecclesiastical councils are still more explicit and more than justify the poet's satire. Thus at a convocation held in London in 1342, monks were reproved for wearing clothing "more fit for soldiers than clerks, viz., short, very narrow, with exceedingly wide sleeves, not reaching the elbow, but hanging down very long, lined with fur or silk.† They wore long beards, rings on their fingers, costly girdles, purses embroidered with figures, and arabesques in gold; knives like swords, red or parti-coloured boots, shoes ending in long points and slashed; in short, the same as all the nobility. Later on in 1367, the Council of York made the same

* "I saugh his sleves purfiled ad atte hond,
With grys and that tyhe fnest of a lond,
And for to festne his hood undur his chyn
He hadde of gold y-wrought a curious pyn:
A love-knotte in the gretter ende there was."

Prologue of the Canterbury Tales.

† Militari potius quam clericali habitu induti superiori, scilicet brevi sue stricto, notabiliter tamen et excessive latis, vel longis manicis, cubitos non tegentibus (tangentibus in Labbe's version) furrura vel sendalo revolutis, et ut vulgariter dicitur, reversatis, ac caputiis cum tipettis miræ longitudinis, barbisque prolixis incedere, et suis digitis annulos indifferenter portare publice, ac zonis stipatis pretiosis miræ magnitudinis supercingi, et bursis cum imaginibus variis sculptis, amellatis (annelatis in Labbe) et deauratis, et ad ipsas patenter cum cultellis, ad modum gladiorum pendentibus, caligis etiam rubeis, scaccatis et viridibus, sotularibusque, rostratis, et incisis multa-moda, ac croperiis (propriis in Labbe) ad sellas, Cornelius ad colla pendentibus, epitogiis 'ac clochis' (two words left out in Labbe) furratis, uti patenter ad oram, contra sanctiones canonicas temere non verenter, adeo quod a laicis vix aut nulla patet distinctio clericorum." Wilkins' 'Concilia Magnæ Britannicæ,' London, 1737, 2 vol. fol., vol. ii., p. 703, also Labbe, 'Sacrosancta Concilia,' A.D. 1342.

remark: "the friars wear garments ridiculously short," they dare to appear in public in coats "that do not even cover their knees."* These were most strictly forbidden for the future; they permitted however for travelling shorter tunics than the regular dress.

It was not without great parade that bishops set out on their journeys; bishops, besides their pastoral visitations, had (like nobles) to travel so as to visit and live on their estates. At all times they were accompanied by their servants, of every description, and their favourites, like the king with his court. The accounts of the expenditure of Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford, will give some idea of the style in which these prelates lived. He was a somewhat important bishop, and consequently very rich; many manors were attached to his see; he could well maintain his rank as prelate and noble; and be hospitable and charitable to the poor, and spend much in applications and pleas to the court of Rome and elsewhere. He had constantly in his service about forty persons of different rank, the greater part of whom accompanied their master in his frequent changes of residence. His equerries' (armigeri) wages were from a mark (13s. 4d.) to a pound per year, his valletti, *i.e.*, his chaplains, and next to these his coachmen, porters, falconers, stablemen, messengers, etc., received from a crown to 8s. 8d. In the third grade came the kitchen servants, the baker with from 2s. to 4s. per annum; the fourth grade included the boys or pages, who assisted the other servants, and had from 1s. to 6s. per annum. The most curious office about the bishop was filled by Thomas de Bruges, his champion, who received a yearly salary to fight in the bishop's name, in cases to be decided by trial by combat. The list of Swinfield's expenses, unfortunately, is not continued for more than a part of the year, 1289-90; so we cannot tell whether he often required to replace his champion.† When evening came, monks, nobles, and travellers of all ranks sought shelter for the night. The monasteries were the King's usual resort in his journeys. He was received there as a master. The nobles did their utmost to imitate the Sovereign in this particular.‡

* "Nonnuti . . . vestes publice deferre præsumpserunt deformiter decurtatas, medium tibiarum suarum, seu genua nullatenus attingentes . . . ad jactantiam et suorum corporum ostentationem." (Labbe, vol. xxvi., col. 467-8.)

† The duels of Thomas de Bruges were not those in cases of felony and crime, which ended only with the death of the vanquished; they were only duels "cum fuste et scuto" with lance and shield, and would necessitate less often, as one may imagine, the appointment of a new champion. In the 29th year of Ed. III. a duel took place between the champions of the Bishops and those of the Earl of Salisbury. When the judges, agreeably to the laws, came to examine the clothing of the combatants, they found that the Bishop's champion had several leaves of prayers and incantations sewn in his clothes. (Year Books of Edward III., years 32—33, p. 16.) An examination of their apparel was always made, and its object was to discover such frauds, which were considered most dangerous and disloyal.

‡ One has only to turn over the leaves of Froissart to see how usual this custom was: John of Hainault arrives at Denain: "there he took shelter in the Abbey for the night;" (Book I., part 1, chap. 14) the Queen landed in England with the same John of Hainault, "and then they found a large Abbey of Black Monks, to whom St. Aymon is said to belong; there they rested and refreshed themselves for three days" (chap. 18); "there the King stopped and lodged in an Abbey" (chap. 292); "King Philippe . . . came to the good town of Amiens, and there lodged in the Abbey du Gard." (chap. 296) etc.

Hospitality was a duty in all monastic houses, and in the order of St. John of Jerusalem the very first of duties. This Order had establishments throughout England, and it was a piece of good fortune for poor travellers to meet with one. They were doubtless treated according to their rank; still it was a great thing that they gained admission. The reports of the Order in 1338 shew that these religious Knights did not seek to avoid the heavy expenses of hospitality. You will always find in the lists of their expenditure that for "supervenientibus." When the King or Princes had to be entertained, they were ruined. Thus the Prior of Clerkenwell mentions "many expenses of which he could not give the details, occasioned by hospitality offered to travellers, to Members of the Royal Family, and other Lords of the Realm, who stop at Clerkenwell, and live at the expense of the house. That is why the account ends with this Summary:—"Thus the expenses exceed the receipts by £20 11s. 4d.* The proximity even of a noble was a source of cost to them; he freely sent his attendants to take advantage of the hospitality of the monastery. Thus in the accounts at Hampton, the list of people to whom bread and beer had been given ends thus: "because the Duke of Cornwall is living in the neighbourhood." "Una cum supervenientibus, quia dux Cornubiæ juxta moratur," (pp. 99, 101, and following.) It must be remembered that most of these houses had been endowed by nobles, and each one, discovering the lands to have belonged to a relative or friend, thought himself quite at home in the monastery.

But these turbulent lords, friends of good cheer, abused the monastic gratitude, and their excesses occasioned complaints that reached the King's ears. Edward I. forbade anyone to eat or lodge in a religious house without a formal invitation from the superior, or bring the founder of the establishment, and, even then, the consumption must be moderate. Only the poor, who lost more than anyone by the whims of the great, were to continue to be lodged gratuitously:—"et per hoc non intellegitur quod gratia hospitalitatis abstratiatur egenis." Statutes of the Realm, 3rd Ed. I., chap. 1. Edward II. in 1309 confirmed these needful regulations, and six years after, again promised that neither he nor his should impose on the hospitality of Monks. Statutes of the Realm, years 1308 and 1315-16. Articuli cleri, 9 Ed. II., chap. 2.

There is hardly need to remind the reader that hospitality was practised in castles. Those lords who were not at variance, willingly received each other. There was between them much nearer brotherly ties than those that now exist between people of the same class. One scarcely ever now-a-days gives hospitality to strangers who knock at the door; at the most (and that seldom) in country places, poor wanderers are allowed to pass the night in the out-houses. What is now so seldom done was a common custom in the Middle Ages.

* Published by Larking and Kemble, "The Knights Hospitallers in England," Camden Society, 1857, 4to. This is the text of a MS. found at Malta, and called "Extenta terrarum et tenementorum Hospitalis Sancte Johannis Jerusalem in Anglia, A.D. 1838."

Very poor and very rich or powerful people were the only ones to whom the monastery served as an hotel. The Monks received the first from charity, and the others from necessity, the common inns being too wretched for the latter and too dear for the former. They were for the middle class, merchants, small landowners, and peddlers. The beds were placed a certain number in the same room, and each brought what he wanted to eat; bread chiefly, and some meat and beer. For example, we are able to follow two fellows and the warden of Merton College, who, with four servants, went from Oxford to Durham and Newcastle in 1331. The Latin text of the account of their expenditure has been published by Thorold Rogers in his "History of Agriculture and Prices," f. ii., p. 635.

They journeyed on horseback. It was in the depth of winter. Their food was very plain and their lodging cheap. We nearly always find the same articles of expenditure recurring. These included, in consequence of the season, candles and firing—sometimes a coal fire. One day's entry will give an idea of the rest. On a certain Sunday they booked the items thus: Bread, 4d.; Meat, 5½d.; Fuel, 2d.; Beer, 2d.; Soup, ¼d.; Beds, 2d.; Wine, 1¼; Candles, ¼; Horses' Fodder, 10d. It will be observed that the beds are not dear. On another occasion the servants being alone at an inn, their bedding came to 1d. for two nights. Generally, when they were altogether, their beds cost 2d. Sometimes they partook of eggs or vegetables at ¼d., or of a fowl or capon. When they used condiments, they entered them separately;—*e.g.*, fat, ½d.; gravy, ½d.; pickle for the same price; sugar, 4d.; pepper, saffron, mustard, etc. Fish occurs regularly every Friday. They paid 8d. for crossing the Humber. One evening they were belated, the roads were dark, they lost their way. They took a guide, to whom they paid 1d. Sometimes they provided themselves beforehand with provisions to take with them. They bought a salmon "pro itinere" 18d., and paid 8d. for having it cooked. They often partook of beer, and it was not only at the inn, where they lodged for the night, that they obtained it. On all frequented ways at the cross-roads, there were low-built houses, where liquors were to be had. A long pole that projected over the door, and showed from afar its bunch of boughs, drew the attention of travellers to the ale-house.*

The custom was to have immense poles, which were no inconvenience in country, but in town it became necessary to make rules fixing their greatest

* The pilgrims, that Chaucer makes to ride along the road to Canterbury, stop at a house of this kind:

"But first quod he, heer at this ale stake
I wol both drinke, and eten of a cake."

Prologue to the Pardoner's Tale.

A small painting of the fourteenth century, in the British Museum (MS. 10, E. IV., fol. cxiv.) represents the ale-house with its long horizontal pole, projecting (a great way over the road) its bunch of branches. The house is only of one story, a woman is standing before it with a large jug of beer, and a Monk is drinking from a large tankard.

length. In fact, in the words of the regulations, they used poles so heavy "that they tend to pull down the houses that support them," and so long and with signs that hung so low, that they came in contact with the heads of persons on horseback. The Act of 1375, that tells of these grievances, orders, that for the future, poles shall not extend more than seven feet over the public way; this still left a rather picturesque appearance to the streets, which were not so wide as ours. Certain taverns were of bad repute, especially in towns.

In London, the King forbade them to keep open after curfew, and for very good reasons: "Because such aforesaid evil-doers going by night usually have their receiving and meeting place, and plot mischief in taverns more than elsewhere, and there get shelter, waiting and watching their time to do evil." Statute of 1285; 13th Ed. I. (Statutes of the Realm.)

Langland has beautifully pictured for us an inn of the fourteenth century. With all the animation of Rabelais or Teniers, he introduces us to the tumultuous scenes passing in the alehouse; to the discussions, quarrels, the brimming bumpers, and the drunkenness that ensues; we see each countenance, and seem to distinguish the sound of their voices, we notice their not very correct deportment, and we can almost imagine ourselves one of the motley assemblage, where hermit and cobbler, clerics and a set of cut-purses, and hoary-headed tooth-drawers are met together.

"An haywarde and an heremyte the hangeman of tyborne,
Dauwe the dykere with a dozen harlotes,
Of portours and of pykeporses and pyled toth-drawers,
. . . . . .
Ther was lauhyng and lakeryng and let go the coppe!"
Bargeynes and beuereges-by-gunne to aryse,
And setyn so till euensong rang."*

Peasants too are to be seen at the tavern. Christina of Pisa, a woman whose writings and style so constantly remind one of Gower, shows them to us drinking, fighting, and losing more in one evening than they have earned all day; they are brought before the provost, and fines are added to their losses.

In these taverns every day
You will find them staying
Drinking there all the day.
As soon as they have done their day's work
Many gather there to drink.
'Tis a thing to see them spending there
More than they have gained all day.
. . . . . .
Then should we not ask
If they who fight much are heeky.
The provost fines them several pounds,
With the full length of his tongue.
. . . . . .
And will see these idle gallants
Who frequent taverns
Merry and jovial.

Book of the Changes of Fortune, Bk. III. (MS. 603 in the British Museum).

* "The vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman;" Skeat's edition; London (Early English Text Society) 1873, text C, canto VII., verses 361 and following.

There were other solitary dwellings along the roads that had, too, constant connection with travellers, namely, those of the hermits. In the fourteenth century hermits hardly ever sought the solitude of deserts or the depth of woods. They preferred to inhabit cottages built in the most frequented places on the highways or at the corners of bridges. They lived there, like Godfrey Pratt, on the charity of passers-by; the bridge, with its chapel, was already almost a sacred structure, the vicinity of the hermit hallowed it completely. He repaired the bridge, or was thought to do so, and people willingly gave him a ¼d.*

They were a singular race, who, in the age of disorganization and reform, when everything seemed either in its decadence or infancy, grew and multiplied in spite of regulations. They increased the number of parasites clinging to the Church, concealing under a respectable dress anything but a respectable life. These troublesome and mischievous off-shoots, clung, like moss in a damp cathedral, to cracks in the stones, and by the gradual work of a century, threatened the noble edifice with ruin. And what remedy was there? Nothing was able to cut down these ever-springing weeds. A patient hand, guided by a watchful eye, was wanted to uproot them one by one, and to fill in each vacancy; it was the work of saints, and they were scarce. The episcopal statutes often appeared to effect much, but it was merely superficial; the heads being cut off, the roots remained, and the hardy parasite plunged deeper than ever into the midst of the wall. Solemn interdicts and rigid rules were not wanting, but they had only temporary results.

To be a hermit was to be vowed to an exemplary life of misery and privation, and to prevent imposture it was necessary to have the episcopal sanction, that is, to possess testimonials from one of the consistories. They infringed these rules without scruple. Within the shelter of his dwelling a not too devout individual dressed as a hermit, could lead a pretty comfortable life; and life was so hard elsewhere. The charity of passers-by was enough to support him, especially if he were not troubled with scruples, and knew how to beg; besides, there was no work, no pressing duty; the Bishop was far off, and the tavern near. All these considerations, eventually, reproduced a mischievous class of false hermits, who took the dress as a means of livelihood without asking anyone's permission. The King and his statutes (12, Richard II., c. 7) classed them with beggars, tramps, and vagabonds of every kind, who should all be imprisoned to await trial. An exception only was made in the case of authorized hermits, "except religious persons and accredited hermits, having letters of testimonial from the ordinaries." Such a statute quite proves that Langland, in his eloquent description of a hermit's life, has not exaggerated; his verses are but a commentary on the law. He is, however, impartial, and does justice to sincere anchorites: these are compared to true Christians. But

* See the part played by ecclesiastics in the collection of alms, the care and maintenance of bridges previously noticed.

what are these false saints that have pitched their tents on the side of the highways, or even in towns, at inn doors? Who beg under church porches? Who eat and drink freely and spend their evenings warming themselves? What is that man who rests and warms himself—"reste hym and roste him"—near the bright fire, "by the hot coles" and when he has drunk his fill has only to go to bed? All are unworthy of pity, and Langland adds, with an aristocratic feeling, that has not been sufficiently noticed in him: All these hermits are moreover common artizans, "workmen, webbes, and taylours, and carters' knaves." They formerly had "long labour and lyte wynnynge," but one day they observed that the false friars, they saw on every side, had round faces, "hadde fatte cheekes," and have left their work and taken garments that deceive, as if they were clerics, "the dress of prophets." They are seldom to be seen at church, these false hermits, but you find them seated at rich men's tables, because their dress is respectable; and there they eat and drink of the best; they, who formerly were of the lowest rank, seated at side-tables, never tasted wine or white bread, with no covering to their beds.

"Ac while he wrought in thys worlde and wan hus met with treuthe
He sat atte sydbenche and secounde table;
Cam no wyn in hus wombe thorw the weke longe,
Nother blankett in hus bed ne whyte bred by-fore hym
The cause of all thys caitifte cometh of menny bisshopes
That suffren such sottes."*

"Ac eremiten that en-habiten by the heye weyes and in borwes among brewesters and beggen in churches:" also verse 140 tells how "he gets up in the morning when he pleases and immediately asks where he shall go and take his breakfast, or else, who will give him bacon, bread, and cheese;" he takes it all back to his house and lives in idleness:

And when hym lyketh and lust hus leue ys to aryse;
When he ys rysen, rometh out and ryght well aspieth
Where he may rathest have a repast other a rounde of bacon
Sulver other sode mete and some tyme bothe,
A loof other half a loof other a lompe of cheese;
And carieth it home to hus cote, and caste hym to lyne
In iydlenese and in ese—"

These rascals escaped the Bishops, who ought to have kept their eyes more widely open. Alas! as Rutebeuf—a poet in the thirteenth century—charmingly says:—

"The coat does not make a hermit.
Whether a man live in a hermitage
And be clad in cloth raiment,
I care not two figs
For his coat or his vestments
If he does not lead a life as pure
As his coat would prove to us.
But many men make great parade
And much their seeming is worth.
They are like those trees that bore no fruit;
That were too fine in flowering."†

The Tale of Friar de Vese.

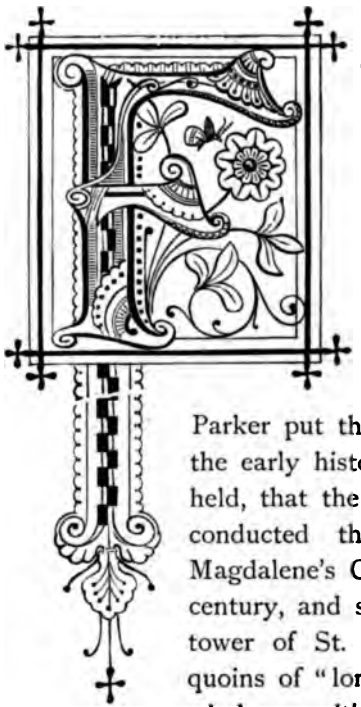
* "The vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman," Skeat's Edition, text C., canto X., verses 208 and 251 and 195, also 189 verse.

† Complete works of Rutebeuf. Jubinal Ed., Paris, 1874. 3 vols., 12mo., vol. ii., p. 63.

Excursions.

EXCURSION TO OXFORD AND IFFLEY.

June 19th, 1883.



FORTY-THREE of the members, many of them ladies, visited Oxford. The weather was fine throughout the day, and as the programme drawn up by Mr. James Parker, of Oxford, and the concomitant arrangements made by the hon. secretary were found to be admirable, nothing was wanting to make the excursion enjoyable. The party arrived at the Randolph Hotel at 9.15 a.m., where breakfast awaited them, and where they were joined by Mr. Parker. In an interesting and instructive prefatory address Mr. Parker put the company in possession of the chief facts known of the early history of Oxford, disposing of the belief, long popularly held, that the University was founded by King Alfred. He then conducted the party to Merton College, passing St. Mary Magdalene's Church, with its beautiful south aisle of the fourteenth century, and stopping for a short time opposite the very ancient tower of St. Michael's Church. Careful note was made of the quoins of "long and short work" of this tower, and of the belfry windows, with rude baluster-shaped central columns, held to be indications of a date of erection earlier than the Norman Conquest. At Merton College, which was founded and completed in the thirteenth century, or in the first few years of the fourteenth, by William de Merton; at New College, an edifice of the fourteenth century, founded by the great architect and churchman, William of Wykeham; and at Magdalene, founded in the fifteenth century by Bishop Waynflete, Mr. Parker told the company many things of the lives and

characters of the founders, the history of the buildings, and the beauties and characteristic features of the architecture. His observations were listened to with attentive interest. Christ Church College was visited and the cathedral examined, under the excellent guidance of Canon Bright. This college was founded by Cardinal Wolsey in 1525, on the site of the Priory of St. Frideswide, which had been suppressed the year before. In 1546 the Priory Church, which dates from the twelfth century, was made "the Cathedral Church of Christ in Oxon," and, although the smallest in England, is of great architectural interest, since it exhibits in a very striking manner the transition from the round-arched Norman of the twelfth, to the pointed-arched style of the thirteenth century. After leaving Christ Church the party went on the river to Iffley, in two large boats. The celebrated and charming Norman church was described by Mr. Parker, and the changes it had probably undergone since its erection in the twelfth century were more clearly shown by means of a coloured plan. St. Peter's-in-the-East was another of the early Norman churches examined. The crypt here is very remarkable, and contains features of peculiar interest, which were ably commented upon by Mr. Parker, and eagerly discussed by the members. Dinner was served at the Randolph Hotel at six; Mr. R. F. Martineau, vice-president of the Institute, presiding, and the Rev. Canon Bright and Mr. Parker being present as guests. At the close of the meal the President proposed a vote of thanks to Canon Bright and Mr. Parker for their invaluable assistance, and for the kindness and courtesy with which it had been rendered. The proposition was seconded by Mr. J. A. Cossins, and warmly adopted. The return train left Oxford at 8.12, and arrived at Snow Hill at 9.48.

SHIFNAL AND TONG.

June 30th, 1883.

Thirty-three ladies and gentlemen took part in this the first of the walking excursions of the season. Proceeding to Shifnal by the Great Western Railway, the large and fine cross church was visited. It has been thoroughly restored, but there is nevertheless very much left that is extremely interesting to antiquaries. It is remarkable for its very fine "Transitional" chancel arch dating from near the end of the twelfth century, which, while retaining the round arch of the Norman period, possesses the delicate and refined mouldings and

enrichments of the Early English style following. The builders of the fourteenth century tower respected the grand chancel arch, and instead of pulling it down built their massive piers and arches close to its western face, the combination producing a curious effect. The south porch is of two storeys, and an interesting and beautiful example of the thirteenth century. Adjoining its upper storey a floor extends over the south aisle, supported on very fine groining. This was supposed by many of the visitors to have been a watching loft, as it is open on the east to the church, but as none of them had seen it before the restoration took place, it was impossible to form a very decided opinion. There were many other features of this beautiful church which attracted great attention; among them the picturesque stair turret and trefoil arch of the porch, the finely traceried windows, and the sepulchral monuments. The walk to Tong was a delightful one. Shortly after leaving Shifnal a path was taken which led through fields and woods, and deeply-shaded ravines, by many a pool and hollow, to Tong Park, the church of Tong coming often into view with charming effect. After tea at the Bell Inn the church was visited. This is so well known that a detailed description is hardly necessary: it will be enough to say that it contains in itself everything that best pleases the archæologist or artist. Picturesque outlines and good architectural detail, elaborately carved old oak screens and stalls, and numerous fine monumental tombs and effigies, all well preserved, and happily, as yet, unrestored, to which it must be added that the beautiful colour of the weathered stone of the exterior, and the setting amidst tall elms and the low flowering shrubs which grow among the adjoining ruins, make up a picture which can hardly be equalled. Another pleasant stroll brought the party to Donnington and Albrighton, where all that is left of the old churches was examined, and the return to Birmingham was made by the 9.1 train.

ROLLESTON AND TUTBURY.

July 28th, 1883.

This Saturday afternoon excursion was attended by about thirty ladies and gentlemen. Proceeding by the one o'clock Midland train to Burton-on-Trent, carriages were taken at the station to Rolleston. The church contains some interesting remains of the Norman period, and some good traceried windows of the thirteenth century. There are also several fine altar tombs with effigies, and some incised alabaster slabs. The church is, fortunately, unrestored. Another

short drive and Tutbury was reached, and an excellent tea was served at the Dog and Partridge Hotel. After tea a leisurely inspection was made of the castle. The castle stands at the extremity of a lofty ridge, projecting into the Valley of the Dove. The earthworks are of a very remarkable description; about two-thirds of the area is surrounded by broad and deep ditches, but on the north the steep cliff renders artificial defences unnecessary. On the south-west extremity is a large mound, now occupied by a modern sham tower, probably the successor of an older structure. The buildings that remain are chiefly of the fifteenth century, and of excellent character, and the masonry is in fine preservation. The earliest work is probably by John of Gaunt, who made this his residence. Near the castle is the remarkably fine Norman church, with a noble western doorway. The church has been over-restored, and consequently has lost much of its interest for the archæologist. The return journey was made by rail from Tutbury *via* Burton.

WELLS AND GLASTONBURY.

August 14th, 15th and 16th, 1883.

The members of the Section closed successfully their series of excursions for the season by a visit to Wells, Glastonbury and Cheddar. About twenty-five members and friends of the Institute joined in the excursion. The party left Birmingham by the 2.50 p.m. Midland express for Bristol, and Wells being reached at eight o'clock, they took up quarters at the Swan Hotel there. The hotel, which faces to the fine west front of the cathedral, is of no small archæological interest, having been an important hostelry as far back as 500 years ago. Proceeding early on Wednesday to Glastonbury, the party spent a most enjoyable morning there. In view of a seeming likelihood of showery weather, Glastonbury Tor was first visited. This isolated conical hill rises from a vast green plain, and affords from its summit a panorama of extraordinary extent and beauty. Far on the horizon to the south and south-west, ridges of lofty hills in Dorset and Devon could be clearly discerned; some twenty miles to the west, sails could be descried in the Bristol Channel; whilst on the north-east, rose the Mendip Hills, overshadowing the quiet little city of Wells. Nearer, on the south-west, the Polden Hills appeared, sheltering the site of the famous battle of Sedgemoor. The remarkable hills of Montacute, one of which, called St. Michael's, had probably a chapel dedicated to that saint; the camp on Mount Camalet;

the lofty triangular tower at Stourton, erected early in the eighteenth century in commemoration of a victory obtained by King Alfred over the Danes, were features of interest in the landscape. On the Tor itself there stands a well-proportioned tower of the fourteenth century; of the church of St. Michael, to which it was attached, not a vestige remains. Above the western door of the tower are two sculptured panels. One represents the weighing of a soul. One of the scales the Devil vainly presses down with his foot; the other is held by St. Michael with his sword. The summit of the hill, moreover, was the place of execution of Richard Whiting, last abbot of Glastonbury, who was dragged up its sides on a hurdle.

Descending the Tor, the company visited the Abbots' Barn, one of the finest examples of its kind; and then the Church of St. John, remarkable for its beautiful tower, 140 feet high. The church is in the Perpendicular style of architecture. Next came the *piece de resistance* of the programme—the ruins of Glastonbury Abbey. The architectural details of the magnificent pile were pointed out by Mr. Cossins—the fine piers at the entrance to the choir; St. Joseph's Chapel, a notable specimen of the transitional style, with a finely sculptured north doorway, and St. Joseph's Well, in the crypt below the chapel. Although great pains are taken by the proprietor to preserve the ruins, it was painful to note that sculptured figures, little impaired by time, had been subjected to wilful mutilation. After the abbey, the abbots' kitchen was visited. This striking example of domestic architecture is of octagonal form, and its roof is surmounted by a double lantern. There are four fireplaces, each sixteen feet long. A peep at the George Hotel, formerly a hospice for pilgrims, a brief inspection of the ancient tribunal house, a passing glance at the Church of St. Benedict, and then the party returned to the railway station. Concerning Weary-All Hill, seen on the way, tradition has it that Joseph of Arimathea landed at its foot, it being then an island, and having ascended it bestowed upon it the name it retains. His staff, struck into the ground, blossomed on a Christmas Day, and so came "the Glastonbury thorn." Wine made on the hillsides was at one time exported to the Continent in considerable quantities.

At Wells, after luncheon, the archæologists assembled in the Palm Churchyard to hear an address from Dr. Freeman, the historian. The address related to the architectural peculiarities of the Cathedral, and was naturally listened to with much interest. After Divine service Dr. Freeman continued his remarks from the pulpit in the nave. He said that the city of Wells was not really a city, nor was it a Roman town; it was merely a town which rose up at the gate of the Bishop's Palace. Its history could not be traced earlier than into the reign of Edward the Elder, when the bishopric was founded, but there was probably a site in the days of the West Saxon King Ida. The bishops were styled "of Bath and Wells," because after the Norman Conquest John of Tours, following the custom of the time, removed the seat of his authority

to Bath, as the largest town in the diocese. At the Reformation the Cathedral Church at Bath, being monastic, was suppressed, and by an Act of Parliament, passed in 1542, the Chapter of Wells was made the sole chapter for the bishop, so that the inclusion of Bath in the title is now merely nominal. Dr. Freeman proceeded to deal in detail with the architectural work of Jocelyn, the founder of the Cathedral, and his successors, and a visit being afterwards paid to the Chapter House, described it as one of the best examples of a type which chiefly belonged to the thirteenth century, and after expatiating upon the details of its beautiful architecture, explained the constitution of the chapter. He was warmly thanked by the party for his kindness. By the invitation of the Dean, the Deanery was subsequently visited, and later on the Dean joined the company at dinner at their hotel. The chair, in the absence of Mr. Timmins, the President, was taken by Mr. Cossins, and hearty votes of thanks were passed to Dr. Freeman and the Dean of Wells. On Thursday the visitors were met at the Bishop's palace by Mr. T. Serel, a local antiquary; the Bishop, although absent, having given directions that everything of interest should be shown to them. After the house the banqueting hall was inspected. The Bishop had raised a question as to the way in which the hall had terminated at the west end, and the architects present agreed that immediately to the west of the north and south doors a wall had probably divided it from rooms of two storeys in height, approached from the north side by a door still in existence at a considerable height from the ground, and that the room on the upper floor formed what is known as the solar, or withdrawing room, the undercroft being probably a cellar or buttery. East of the doors were oak screens, over which was the minstrel's gallery. The visitors lingered in the charming grounds of the palace, which, under the most favourable conditions of weather, were most attractive. Later Mr. Serel led the way to St. Cuthbert's Church. Dr. Freeman describes the tower as one of the noblest in Somersetshire, and therefore in England. On the eastern wall of each of the two transeptal chapels is a remarkable, though mutilated reredos, the original contract for the building of which was shown to the visitors. Bishop Bubwith's Almshouses, founded in 1436, having been visited, the excursionists went on to Cheddar, where antiquities of another kind claimed attention—the big cliffs and the stalactitic caverns. These and the pleasing scenery were enjoyed until tea-time, and the party, after according to Mr. Cossins and Mr. Paxton Porter a hearty vote of thanks for the arrangements made by them, returned to Birmingham by way of Yatton.

List of Committee, 1883.

ELECTIVE.

SAM: TIMMINS, F.S.A., *President.*
J. A. COSSINS, *Honorary Secretary.*
JOHN COTTON.
J. A. LANGFORD, LL.D.
WM. PEARCE.
EDWIN SMITH.
CHAS. WILLIAMS.

EX-OFFICIO (Officers of the Institute).

SIR WM. THOMSON, LL.D., F.R.S., *President.*
COUNCILLOR R. F. MARTINEAU, } *Vice-Presidents.*
THE REV. A. R. VARDY, }
GEO. S. MATHEWS, ESQ., M.A., *Treasurer.*
J. H. CHAMBERLAIN, *Honorary Secretary.*

Report of the Committee,

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, 30TH JANUARY, 1884.

SAM: TIMMINS, ESQ., F.S.A., PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The Committee have the pleasure of presenting to the members their Report for the past year, being the Fourteenth Annual Report of the proceedings of the Section.

The Committee are of opinion that, in many respects, the operations of the Section have been characterised by a vitality which promises well for its future.

The attendances at the Monthly Meetings of the winter session have been larger than usual, and the summer excursions have been exceptionally successful.

The Monthly Meeting in December took the form of a Conversazione, and the Committee have reason to believe that the arrangements gave much satisfaction to the members who attended. The thanks of the Committee and of the members generally are due to the contributors who kindly rendered assistance on the occasion.

Unfortunately the expense necessarily attending meetings of this kind will prevent the Committee from holding more than one a year, unless a large accession of members can be secured.

The following papers have been read during the year, viz. :—

Jan. 31st.—"Birmingham Maps," by the President.

Feb. 28th.—"Old Birmingham Books," by the President.

March 28th.—"Wandering Life and the Roads of England in the Middle Ages," by the Rev. J. O. Bevan.

Nov. 28th.—"Place Names," by the Rev. J. O. Bevan.

The following excursions have been made, viz. :—

Oxford and Iffley, June 19th; attendance, forty-three.

Shifnal and Tong (half-day), June 30th; attendance, thirty-three.

Tutbury (half-day), July 28th; attendance, thirty-one.

Wells, Glastonbury and Cheddar, August 14th to 16th; attendance, twenty-three.

The Committee desire to acknowledge their indebtedness to the Rev. Canon Bright and Mr. Jas. Parker, for their kind assistance at the Oxford excursion; and to the Dean of Wells, Dr. Freeman, and Mr. Thos Serel, for the courtesy and valuable help extended by them to the members visiting Wells. Each of the excursions named will be memorable as amongst the most successful and useful which have been made by the Section.

The Committee have continued to have photographs taken of old buildings about to be pulled down, and these, together with a large number of drawings of old Birmingham buildings will form the principal part of an Exhibition to be furnished by the Section, at the request of the Council of the Institute, at the approaching Conversazione.

The Committee have much pleasure in reporting the completion of the publication of the "Staunton Folio." The issue of this volume has been delayed principally through the illness of Mr. Fretton, who has been kind enough to prepare the letter-press. The work will shortly be distributed to the members, together with any outstanding volumes of the Transactions which may be due to them.

The Committee cannot close this Report without recording their deep sense of the loss which the Section in common with the members of the Institute generally have sustained by the lamented death of Mr. John Henry Chamberlain. Mr. Chamberlain was present at the meeting at which the Section was founded, and for many years took an active part in its proceedings, and though latterly his many engagements prevented him from attending its meetings, yet he continued to the last to take a warm interest in its welfare.

In conclusion, the Committee again desire to urge upon the members the desirability of obtaining fresh subscribers to the Section. If each member would obtain one additional subscriber, the Committee would be greatly assisted in their work, and the operations of the Section could be greatly extended.

The present number of members is 226.

Dr. *General Account.* Cr.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1883.

1883.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 31st.—To	Advertising...	0	4	0
"	Audit Expenses	2	2	0
"	Conversazione	8	16	9
"	Excursions	3	12	9
"	Printing and Stationery	2	9	6
"	Postage, Carriage and Incidentals	4	14	7
"	Transactions	6	10	0
"	Balance carried forward	110	1	2
		£138	10	9

1882.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 31st.—To	Balance brought forward ...	77	15	3
1883.				
Dec. 31st.—To	Interest on Deposit Account ...	7	5	6
"	Subscriptions	53	10	0
		£138	10	9

Copying Fund.

1883.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 31st.—To	Printing, etc.	14	8	0
"	Balance carried forward	91	15	1
		£106	3	1

1882.		£	s.	d.
Dec 31st.—By	Balance brought forward ...	94	3	1
1883.				
Dec. 31st.—By	Subscriptions	12	0	0
		£106	3	1

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1884-85.

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PRINTED FOR SUBSCRIBERS ONLY
AT THE HERALD PRESS, UNION STREET.
1887.

Birmingham and Midland Institute.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

TRANSACTIONS, EXCURSIONS AND REPORTS.

In the year 1700 died the King of Spain (Charles II.), bequeathing the crown of Spain to a grandson of Louis XIV.; the danger of this accession to Louis' strength was at once seen by the heroic William of Orange and the chiefs of other European nations. France having Spain as a possible enemy on her Southern border had been deterred from sending all her armies into Germany, but with Spain as an active ally, or even as a friendly neutral, she could put forth her whole force against the rest of Europe.

The death of James II. and the acknowledgment of his son, the Pretender, as King of England, roused the English nation to a sense of its danger, and a league was formed between England, Austria, and Holland, to which were afterwards added Prussia and Denmark.

At this critical time the brave William III. died, recommending to his successor, Anne, the Earl of Marlborough, a greater general and a greater diplomatist even than himself, as the fittest man to lead her armies and conduct her negotiations.

The Earl of Marlborough was appointed Ambassador as well as Commander-in-Chief. His army was composed of many nations, speaking various languages, while the French army had the advantage of unity of language and command. Taking up the command at Nimengen he captured Venloo and Liège, thus protecting Holland. The next year the Cabinet of Versailles had conceived a magnificent scheme for a combined attack upon Austria. The three French armies, assisted by the Elector of Bavaria, were to converge upon the Valley of the Danube and crush Austria at a blow; but Marlborough was informed of the plan, and having captured Bonn, he marched across the Black Forest and, joined with Prince Eugène, fought the decisive Battle of Blenheim on August 13th, 1704. Marshal Tallard, the French commander, was taken prisoner, and the grand French army which, a few weeks before, had crossed the Rhine 45,000 strong, re-crossed in the utmost disorder, a poor 12,000.

Few victories have been more complete. Austria and Germany were saved, and the decisive blow struck at Blenheim resounded through every part of Europe, and at once destroyed the vast fabric of power which Louis XIV., aided by the talents of Turenne and the genius of Vauban, had been so long constructing.

Honours and rewards were showered on the hero. He was created by the Emperor a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, and at the request of Parliament Queen Anne settled upon him the ancient Royal Manor of Woodstock, "as a perpetual memorial of his services to England and the whole of Europe." The Queen directed that a splendid palace should be erected there, and that in memory of the victory it should be called the Castle of Blenheim; and Sir John Vanbrugh was appointed the architect, although Sir Christophen Wren was living and active.

Sir John Vanbrugh was a soldier, a wit, a herald, and an architect of original power, a man much less known than he deserves to be. He came of a good Flemish family, who fled from the persecutions of the Duke of Alva. Born in England; he became a soldier; travelling in France to study architecture, he was locked up in the Bastille; here he beguiled his time by writing plays, and afterwards became one of the leading dramatists of Queen Anne's reign. He built himself a house resembling the Bastille, St. John's Church, Westminster, and Castle Howard for the Earl of Carlisle.

In trying to avoid what was then called "the rudeness of Gothic "magnificence, the flutter of flying buttresses, and the discord of oblique lines," our then architects had fallen into a style cold, flat, and uniform, without those decided masses and projections which cast bold shadows and give breadth and interest. Vanbrugh aimed at avoiding these errors, and Sir Joshua Reynolds said of him, "he had originality of invention, he understood "lights and shadows, and had great skill in composition," and he added, "this is the tribute which a painter owes to an architect who composed like "a painter."

We ought to love Vanbrugh, for he tried in vain to preserve the remains of the ancient Royal Palace of Woodstock; this stood on the hill on the opposite side of the water; a survey in 1660 says, "it was accounted amongst his Majesty's "standing houses, because there was always kept a standing furniture. This great "house was built by King Henry I., but amplified by Henry VII. About a "bowshot from the gate, South-west, remain foundation signs of that structure "erected by King Henry II. for the security of Lady Rosamond, daughter of "Walter, Lord Clifford, which some poets have compared to a labyrinth. About "the midst of this place ariseth a spring, called, at present, Rosamond's "Well. But now (1660) this large Manor House is almost turned into "heaps of rubbish, some 7 or 8 rooms left, with several high, uncovered walls "standing."

In this palace, Edward the Black Prince was born, and Queen Elizabeth was a State prisoner for some time during Queen Mary's reign. Here, too, occurred the feats of "the good devil of Woodstock," who so much disturbed the Puritan Commissioners sent to take account of the manor.

These events were considered by the learned Dr. Plot as supernatural, but after the Restoration it came out that these supernatural effects were all produced by a Royalist servant, one Joe Collins, by means of a trap door and gunpowder; he had hired himself to the Commissioners for the purpose.

Vanbrugh proposed to remove unsightly ruins, but to preserve the remainder of the house and the chapel, proposing to partly screen them by a plantation of yews and hollies. This happy idea would have made, according to our ideas, a very pleasing object in the middle distance, but it was the day of prim Dutch

gardening, and the Duchess thought that Vanbrugh wanted to make it into a house for himself, so the old palace was entirely removed, and the hill lowered: but Rosamond's Well remains.

The Palace of Blenheim, the design of which was evidently suggested by Versailles, extends, with its wings, 850 feet; an extent which, combined with Vanbrugh's rather heavy treatment, considerably dwarfs its real height. This led to the proposed epitaph:—

"Lie heavy on him, earth, for he
"Laid many a heavy weight on thee."

"Thanks, sir (said Pope), 'tis very fine
"But where d'ye sleep and where d'ye dine.
"I find by all you have been telling
"That 'tis a Palace, not a dwelling."

Nevertheless, Blenheim is a splendid and convenient mansion for an owner with a princely income, and the Duchess is said to have much improved many of Vanbrugh's domestic details.

She also built Marlborough House from the designs of Sir Christopher Wren, and she declared it was the best and strongest house ever built. Let us hope so, for the Prince of Wales has added another storey to it. It was built on ground leased from the Crown, and is now Crown property.

But, alas, Vanbrugh could not get his money; the building had been undertaken by Government, and when Marlborough's political enemies came into power the works were stopped, and suits were brought against the Duke and Duchess to pay for much that had been already done.

Disputes ensued between Vanbrugh and the Duchess, in which her temper did not fail to assert itself. She dismissed Vanbrugh, and even refused admission to him and his wife when they came with Lord Carlisle's party to see the building.

Everyone knows something of the character of the celebrated Duchess; how she was the bosom friend of Anne, Princess and Queen, and tyrannized over her; how she had a remarkable talent for business; and how, as she grew older, her pride in her husband's position, and her naturally imperious temper, made her haughty and overbearing. In this some of her family resembled her. She once said to her grand-daughter, the Duchess of Manchester, "Indeed, your mother *has* a temper;" "and so has *her* mother," replied the young lady.

But her character, and that of her husband, have been much maligned by Swift and other political writers; and it must in fairness be said for her, that both she and her beautiful sister, Frances (La belle Jennings), afterwards

Saturday night

The post is just going & I have not time to write so much as I would like I have a great mind to thank you for your letter which is a very good one & has given me a great deal of satisfaction, I never doubted of your performing well what you undertook of. I love dear you than ever any body ever did either out of good will or ill will, I shall not mind it, for I rely entirely upon you, & think my self very happy that I have got two so able & diligent men to carry on my buildings as you & Mr Beisley as soon as I can find my papers which I had

given me long sense of the necessity
of my marble, I will send them
to you, & then you will be able
to tell me where they will do, nor
more seems to think there is not
enough, I am in great haste
your humble servant
S. Marlborough

for mr townsend
mason at
free oxford
marlborough

Duchess of Tyrconnell, were among the few who bore unblemished characters in the licentious Courts of Charles and James II.; that she had refused more than one titled suitor in order to marry the poor, but handsome Colonel, who sprang, like herself, from an impoverished Royalist family; and that the great Marlborough loved her with the deepest affection—his letters, even from the field of battle, "desiring a peace that he might end his days with her."

Queen Anne quarrelled with the Duchess for political reasons, and "it is "remarkable that when she learned to dispense with the friendship of the "Marlborough family, the Queen ceased to be great abroad and respected at "home."

On the refusal of the Government to complete the half finished pile, the Duke and Duchess determined to finish the works, and eight months before the Duke's death these letters began.

The palace and bridge cost some £300,000, of which £60,000 was paid by the Duke and Duchess.

These letters are all addressed to Mr. Townsend and his partner, Mr. Peasley, masons, at Oxford.

(*No.* 1 *Holograph*)† Saterday night

The post is just going and I have not time to write so much as I would but I have a great mind to thank you for your letter which is a very good one & has given me a great deal of satisfaction, I never doubted of your performing well what you undertook & I doe asure you what ever any body says either out of goodwill or otherwise I shall not mind it, for I relye intirely upon you, & think my self very hapy that I have got two so able & honest men to carry on my buildings as you & Mr. Peisley, as soon as I can find my papers which I had given me long since of the measures of my marble, I will send them to you & then you will bee able to tell me what they will do, Mr. More seems to think there is not enough.

I am in great haste
Your humble servant
S. MARLBOROUGH.

for Mr Townsend
Mason att
Oxford
free
Marlborough

NOTE.—"Queen Anne's dead."—When Queen Anne lay dying the Tory Government were making arrangements to bring over the Pretender, and the Queen was half inclined to see her brother; but, alas for his hopes, death was too fast for the Jacobites; Somerset and Argyle boldly interposed, and George I. was proclaimed. Was not the phrase, "Queen Anne's dead," a taunt thrown at the defeated Jacobites by the victorious Whigs?

† Printed also in *fac-simile*.

The Duchess was a strong Whig, and she put whom she pleased into her boroughs of Woodstock and St. Albans. The following letter is dated from Windsor Lodge, she holding the appointment of Ranger of Windsor Park :—

(Secretary)

Mr Townesend

I believe you dont forget what I desir'd of you before I left Blenheim, That you would use all your interest to promote Mr. Crispe's being Chose at the Town of Woodstock. I am told that the Masons That are at Woodstock & in our interest are as good workmen as those that are inclin'd to vote wth our enemies, but You are the best judge of that; What I desire of you and of Mr Peisley is that You would encourage those that are inclin'd to be friends as far as You can do it without any prejudice to the work which you have undertaken, and whatever You & Mr Peisley can do in advancing the Interest of Mr. Crispe will very much oblige

Your humble Servant
& Friend
S. MARLBOROUGH.

I hope I shall see you & Mr Peisley as soon as I am well settled at London, That we may settle things that have not yet been consider'd.
Windsor Lodge

Oct 22. 1721.

The bridge mentioned in the next letter, a handsome and striking feature in the centre of the undulating and beautiful park, has a centre arch of 100 feet span, and two smaller arches, and is remarkable in having large projecting piers containing rooms under the carriage way. Few bridges have caused so many epigrams.

The Duchess called it "that ridiculous bridge," and says, "what makes it so much prettier than London Bridge is that you may set in six rooms and look out at window into the high arch while the coaches are driving over your head." At that time it was rather a ridiculous bridge, and the wits made the most of it, for it was really a viaduct which crossed the deep valley in front of the house, with only a tiny stream flowing through the 100 feet arch. One wrote,

"The lofty arch his high ambition shows
The stream, an emblem of his bounty flows."

Wednesday no the 8, 1721

I never heard till after I sent my letter away to you yesterday that there was any difficulty made in lending you any seafoulding. I write this to prevent any mistake, which you will then be not displeased, that ~~they~~ desire is that you should make use of any thing that is mine till my own work requires it, & there being a great deal of seafoulding perhaps it may not happen that they may want what is useful to you at the same time that you have occasion for it.

I am your humble servant

S. Marlborough

for mr townsend
mason att
free Oxford
Marlborough

* Horace Walpole, who hated the Duchess, said,

"Like the beggars at her gate, it begged for a drop of water and was refused."

But the point was taken out of the epigrams by "Capability Brown," the landscape gardener, who made the chief ornament of the park,—its beautiful lake.

(Secretary) Lond$^{n.}$ 7 November 1721

Mr Townesend

It will be a great satisfaction to me, to hear from you, that I might know how far you are gone in your work at the Bridge, I am told by every body that if the frost shou'd come before the Mortar is dry that whatever is done will be to do again in y^{e} sumer, I can't help mentioning this Tho' I depend upon your skill and Care in the whole mater.

Mr Hurst tells me that the Plaistering work can't go on in the Gallery for want of takeing measures & setling the Palasters & Wainescot, If you cant explain that by writing I desire you will come to me as soon as it suites with yor convenience.

Y^{r} humble servant

S. MARLBOROUGH.

To Mr Townesend or
Mr Peisley at Oxford
free Marlborough.

(Holograph).† Wednesday No the 8, 1721

I never heard till after I sent my letter away to you yesterday that there was any difficulty made in lending you any scafoulding, I write this to prevent any mistake, which you will shew to Mr Desbury, that my desire is that you should make use of anything that is mine till my own work requires it, & there being a great deal of scafoulding perhaps it may not happen that they may want what is useful to you at the same time that you have occasion for it,

I am your humble servant

S. MARLBOROUGH

for Mr Townsend
Mason att
Oxford
free
Marlborough

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* The Duchess was not so uncharitable as Walpole asserts. On one occasion she paid £100 to release a person whom her daughter, Lady Godolphin, had, as she thought, unjustly imprisoned.

† Printed also in *fac-simile.*

(Secretary)

Mr Townshend.

I write this to let you know that I am extremely press'd to remove the Duke of Marlborough's marble out of Scotland Yard which cannot be done till it is sawed: I am told that you have ordered something to be done in it; and this is only to desire that you would let it be dispatch'd as fast as possible, and give such directions, That it may be sawed in that manner as to have no prejudice in the sizes when it comes to be work'd. I hope the weather will soon grow so good, That I may take further measures relating to the works of Blenheim, and when I have leisure I hope it will suit with your convenience & Mr. Peisly's to come to Town upon the notice which I shall give you. I am determined to Build Lodges as I intended, and likewise the place at Rosamonds Bower, and instead of mending Park wall to make new ones in the principal places.

I am your humble servant

S. MARLBOROUGH.

Janry 4.
$172\frac{1}{2}$

From the next letter it appears that the marble was to be taken by barge to Oxford, up the Thames, which had been made navigable to Oxford in 1624.

[Written in February 1772.]

(Holograph.) Munday

Mr Armstrong setts out tomorrow for Blenheim & will bee there upon Wednesday night & hope it will suite with your conveniency & Mr Peisly's to meet him there for it will bee of use, & I hope all things will go on quick when they are considered & settled. Mr. Moore has given derections about the marble to your Brother & hee says hee will send it as soon as the barge man will take it, I beg of you to send the inclosed by a messinger as soon as you receive it.

I am yours

S. MARLBOROUGH.

for Mr Townsend
or Mr Peasley masons
in Oxford.

free Marlborough

The Duke, who had for some years suffered from paralysis or palsy, died in June, 1722, aged 72. His body was honoured with a splendid public funeral, and was deposited in Westminster Abbey, but on the death of the Duchess it was removed to the vault beneath the chapel at Blenheim. A splendid monument, by Rysbrach, was erected in the chapel by the Duchess. He left a large fortune; £15,000 a year to his widow, and £50,000 to complete Blenheim. "By her vigilant attention, the work was prosecuted with a degree of economy which is strikingly contrasted with the preceding wasteful expenditure."

(Secretary) 17 Oct: 1722

S.

I have had a very rediculous Petition from severall of the Inhabitants of Woodstock who desire not to have the Door made up I ordered, but no Body of that Town has Merrit enough to put me to any inconvenience upon Their account, & I desire you to proceed without Loss of Time & do as you are directed, & I dont doubt but you'l advance all other Things as fast as you can for as soon as I can settle Things with Mr. Hawksmore I shall come sooner than you expect.

I am your humble servant

S. MARLBOROUGH.

To Mr Townsend or
Mr. Peiseley

The Duchess, of her own money, built the triumphal arch by which the park is entered, a handsome copy of a Roman triumphal arch. This was designed by Nicholas Hawksmoor, a pupil of Sir Christopher Wren, who designed St. Mary Woolnoth Church, London.

The palace of Blenheim was completed under his direction, substituting a plain iron fence for the elaborate fence of obelisks and arches, like that at Castle Howard, designed by Vanbrugh.

Sir,

When Bat. Peasley was in Town I gave him the Designes of the Gate for Woodstock Parke, together wth the Moldings & Cornices of the same, so much as I thinck was soficient to prepair for the carrying on of that Worke. I thought I should have heard from you concerning them, and wether you perfectly understand me by them Papers.

There is somthing stil wanting to be resolv'd upon, & that is the spott upon which the Gate is to be placed. It has been proposed Two ways.

The first to Front Woodstock Street which a good many People approve off.

The Second way is to make an Esplanade when you are past Chaucers House and to place the Gate upon the left hand, Fronting towards Blaydon; if you remember it was stak'd out so when I was at Woodstock last, in the presence of the Dutches and this second way is most approv'd off by her Grace.

Her Grace gave me an account Yesterday that she was inform'd you had begun the ffoundation of the Gate, but certainly it must be a mistake because it was never absolutely Determined where it should be fixt; wherefore I desire you to send me a Letter, to let me know what Progress you have made in your preparations, and I will endeavor to send you a speedy resolution from her Grace the Dutches, where this Gateway shall be placed, without which we cannot pretend to lay the ffoundation. from

Your most humble

Servt

N. HAWKSMOOR.

Novem$^{br.}$ 14th

1722

To Mr Willm Townsend

Mason in

Oxon.

April 13, 1723. Is a letter from James Moore, saying that Marble is scarce, and suggesting pieceing the pilasters of the chapel, adding "Now if this peiceing "is at top it is her Graces oppinion it wont be minded espesially if these pillasters "are sett in ye part of ye Gallery is least taken notice of for she is not willing to "loose more time."

On the back of this letter Her Grace writes—

"I desire you will direct the answer to This to me, and that you will "recollect if you can when it was that you or Mr Peisley met Mr. Guidott at "Blenheim, I think it was somewhere about the Bridge, and it was either in "Decemb^{r} or ye beginning of Janry last. This is not anything that concerns you "but about a wager.

"Tis not my fault that you have not had the marble, for I desire to have all "the expedition that is possible in all things & I doubt but that you "will dispatch every thing as fast as you can.

"I am Your Humble Servant

"S. MARLBOROUGH."

For Mr Townesend or
Mr Peisly Masons
in
Oxford.

Free
Sunderland.

franked by her grandson Lord Sunderland who became 2nd Duke of Marlborough.

April the 17th.

I thank you for yours of the 16d but I am sorry that your answer oblidges me to give you an other trouble in what I desired not to have lost one day in dispatching & I must desire you to send me by the first post a Direct plain Answer to my question. If you look over my letter again you'l see what it was. I Remember the meaning of it was this that I could not get Marble of one length that you requir'd: & I desired that you would let me know wether peiceing of the Marble in some places would be any prejudice to The work so as to hurt ones Eye; because if you aproved of That I could send you the Quantity you wanted Imediately and I supose the Marble is peiced in severall places but in short I desire you would tell me plainly; wether you think it would look well in ye way I have propos'd in the former letter because if you don't aprove of it Ile send you those lengths that can be got and we must Deferr the other till we can get it. But in this case you must give me a New Derection of what marble you shall want, of the Lengths that you will see by my paper can be got.

I am your friend and Servant

S. MARLBOROUGH.

For
Mr Townshend or Mr Peasly
Masons att
Oxford

Free
Sunderland.

The succeeding letters are dated some seven years later. They refer to the memorial column in the park, which is set in a commanding position in the middle of an avenue. It is a Doric column surmounted by four eagles and crowned at the height of 130 feet by a colossal statue of the Duke bearing a figure of Victory in his hand.

The dado is covered with large marble slabs, on which are displayed at full length the Act of Parliament conferring the Manor of Woodstock on the Duke, and a fine inscription written by Lord Bolingbrooke, a bitter political foe, but who wrote at the end of his life in words honourable to the Duke and to himself, "I take with pleasure this opportunity of doing justice to that great man, whose faults I knew, and whose virtues I admired, and whose memory, as the greatest General and the greatest Minister that our country or any other has produced, I honour."

April 13, 1730.

I send you the enclosed & I desire your answer as to every Particular. This paper is of Mr Flitcrofts drawing & writing. I desire you would let me know whether these Flaws are come by any accident, or whether they are natural in the marble. You are mistaken in thinking that the shorter stones may be more easily got: For the Difficulty is not in the Length but in the Breadth. I desire you would loose no time in answering this. For I am very uneasy at all these delays: who am

Your Friend and humble Servant

S. MARLBOROUGH.

For Mr Townesend
Mason at
Oxford

Frk Manchester.

(Secretary.) April 16, 1730.

You do not say in your letter whether the scheme that I sent you of Mr Flitcrofts is right or wrong: & therefore I desire you would make me an exact plan of the two Faces which you received last, with the Dimensions of every course, so as to let me see the Places as well as Dimensions of the four stones that have vents.

Before you can want the Act of Parliament you sent I will write to you again for I have found something that is proper to alter.

I am

Your Friend and humble Servant

S. MARLBOROUGH.

To Mr Townesend
Mason at
Oxford.

Pray let me hear from you as soon as you can after you have considered it . . . so sett as to make it plain to me what stone (?) I must get more.

(Secretary) Windsor Lodge Oct 26 1730

Mr. Townesend

You will easily believe that I am very much disappointed and troubled to find that after all the Pains that I have taken this Inscription is not yet finished, and that my long search after the best marble has been only for the worse by making some bad which it is mix'd with the more distinguishable. But I am tired out: and I must now make an end of it as well as I can. But I cannot help wondring that you could not see the Fault when you were in Town, who are so much used to marble. I desire there may not be one hour lost more in finishing to cut the Acts of Parliament, and to run them with Lead. And I hope you will take care that there shall be no mistake in that: For it will be cruel if I should be disappointed in every thing; and the next post I will send you my positive Determination in what manner I will have the Inscription done. I wish you would let me know, when 'tis convenient to you the exact account of what marble you had in all from Mr. Flitcroft; & likewise what Quantity there is of his marble left; and what the Quantity is that you furnished for want of his sending it you. I am sorry to find that the earth is not perfected in all this time on one side where the Pillar stands up to the moulding. I am

Your Friend &
humble Servant

S. MARLBOROUGH.

I am not sure I can send you the Determination concerning the Inscription sooner than this Day se'nnight. But having so much to do as you have in the Acts of Parliament, there will be no time lost in that. And I hope you will take

effectual care that there is no more Blunders made. For it will be a most terrible thing, if there is, to me; who have so long set my heart upon this Pillar's being well performed.

For Mr Towneshend
Mason in Oxford
by way of London.

Oct 30. 1730

Mr Townesend

I am now determined that I will have the Inscription written as Mr Stephens saw it when he was last at Oxford. And I am entirely satisfied by the Trials that I have made that it will be read very easily. I beg that you will proceed as fast as tis possible: But I insist upon one thing, which is, that you shall examine whether the Distance between the Line When raised the highest, when exerted the most in the upper course, & the Line Rescued the Empire from Desolation in the second course, will be exactly as it ought to be when the marble is up; because Mr Stephens apprehends that there is in that Joint too great a Space left for the Mortar (which ought to be very little) & that consequently when the whole is put together, those two Lines will be too near another. If you should find this to be the case it may be altered with no more Trouble than rubbing out the two Lines

Rescued the Empire &c
Asserted and confirmed &c & placing them a little lower.

I think these Instructions are so very full, that I hope you will take care yourself that it be effectually done & very soon: which will very much oblige

Your Friend &
humble Servant
S. MARLBOROUGH.

If you find that there is occasion to rub out the two Lines it will be a satisfaction to me to have Mr. Stephens come to see it; which he may easily do & come back the next day. If you will do it presently & give me notice when he shall come.

For Mr Townesend
Mason at Oxford
Frk Manchester

(William Duke of Manchester married a grand-daughter of the Duchess.)

Aug 8. 1738

Mr Townesend

I have made a very fine statue of Queen Anne which will soon be brought to Blenheim. You would oblige me very much if you would send me an exact Drawing of the Bow-Window in the Gallery. I only mean the bottom figured so that I may know how much Room there will be to go round the Figure when it is set up. And I should be glad likewise to have the measure of the Hall the length of it from the coming in to the Door into the Apartment, & the Breadth, not taking in the Place which was once to have been a Staircase, where the marble Table stands. I have an account from Blenheim that you have finished the wall about the water; but they tell me the weeds are as bad as ever. I desired Mr Armstrong to speak to you to make a Computation what it would cost to finish that gate which they call Bladon Gate, where a woman has a House that looks ugly. There is Stiles for foot people to come over. And I would only have a strong plain Gate no more than such as Gentlemen commonly have in their Parks to let coaches in or anything else when I please, without any House. I should be glad you would let me, as soon as you can, have your accounts, that all things may be evened by

Your Friend &
humble Servant
S. MARLBOROUGH.

The Duchess completed all her works at Blenheim, and lived to the age of 82. Being very ill, and having lain a great while without speaking, her physician said, "She must be blistered or she will die." She suddenly cried out, "I *won't* be blistered and I *won't* die," and she did not, but lived a year longer, dying in 1744.

She left estates in twelve counties, and bequeathed £10,000 to William Pitt (Earl of Chatham) "on account of his merit in the defense he has made to "prevent the ruin of his country."

She had quarrelled with her grandson, the second Duke of Marlborough, so she left all her estates to his brother Jack Spencer, thus founding the House of Spencer of Althorpe, from which are descended the Lord Althorpe of the Reform Bill, and the present Earl Spencer.

As a widow, she received offers of marriage from Lord Coningsby and from the Duke of Somerset; to the latter she replied, "Were I but thirty instead of sixty, I would not consent that an Emperor should succeed to a place in my heart, which was wholly given to the Duke of Marlborough."

A few Notes on Monumental Brasses, with a Catalogue of those existing in Warwickshire.

By CHARLES WILLIAMS.

26th March, 1884.

N the paper I have the honour to read to you this evening I have not touched upon the many ways in which various nations have in past ages marked the spots where lay their dead: it would be too wide a subject. I may, however, remark that these memorials have been almost universally respected, and as they generally expressed either by symbols, inscriptions, or both, the leading principles of the religious beliefs of the people, they were thus further guarded against spoliation. But in times of revolution or anarchy, and especially on the occasion of a change of the national religion, as on the establishment of Christianity in the Roman Empire, or as comparatively lately in this country, the revolt against the Church of Rome, memorials of the dead have been among the many objects against which the zeal of the converts has directed their fury, principally because the symbols or inscriptions which they bore were associated with a past and hated religious creed. In later times, indifference and neglect have done much to destroy the interesting and beautiful works of monumental art in which our cathedrals and churches were once so rich. But it was during the early period of the Gothic revival that the most wide-spread and disastrous damage and destruction took place, caused by the senseless craze that took possession of everybody to clear the floors and walls of our churches of everything of later date than the Reformation. This unreasoning zeal was the cause of the removal and destruction of countless monuments, many of great artistic value, and a great many

more that were of historic interest. Unfortunately no reaction of this kind ever takes place without being pushed to extremes, so our cathedrals and churches, with their contents, have suffered more during the forty years of the Gothic Purists than from those who, during the long reign of the classic styles, despised mediæval art. Hear what a member of the Cambridge Camden Society says on the subject. "The heathen of old paid the most religious regard to the sepulchres "of their departed ancestors; to let them fall into the hands of the enemy was a "disgrace worse than death itself. The war-cry of the Greeks was 'Our temples "and our fathers' tombs.' Is not this a reproach to ourselves, who, though we might "not willingly yield them to an enemy, yet hesitate not to let them be desecrated "and destroyed by the hands of friends? May we henceforth learn to venerate "and preserve with religious care those remaining monuments raised by our fore-"fathers to perpetuate the memory of good and holy men; and may we never "again be called upon to witness such reckless havoc as in past ages has been "committed in our English Churches against those goodly works of pious "hands."

I trust you will not think it ill-timed if I ask your co-operation with a society which has for its mission the protection of those objects of which the subject of this paper forms one section, viz., "The Society for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead," and of which the hon. secretary of this society can give you every particular, and to which, it seems to me to be the duty of such societies as ours to render every assistance, and to be energetic in preserving records of those antiquities which are daily becoming more rare. Go where we may, a feeling of regret must frequently arise in us that some object, now in decay, was not described or depicted when in its first freshness and beauty; and that the other one, once by its side, is lost, and no trace or likeness of it to be found. And how lost? Not always by the hand of the mere unthinking thief, but frequently through those who, under the plea of antiquarian research, not only despoil but desecrate the tombs of the dead; for it is a well-known fact that many private houses contain brasses which could never originally have been placed there, and which it is charitable to suppose the occupiers are only keeping until satisfied of the spot to which they belong. I am glad to be able to state there are on record cases of restitution, and one of remorse; a fine brass, formerly at Lynn, was sold for five shillings by a sexton, who is said to have hung himself through remorse. It is estimated that fully twelve thousand monumental brasses have disappeared in this country. In 1551 the Corporation of Yarmouth ordered the brasses to be cast into weights and measures for the use of the town. Then what must we say to the custodians of these records who have allowed them to be boarded over, matted over, pewed over, relegated to the coal-hole or belfry, and not unfrequently broken up and melted? Can anything be more beautiful than many of the brasses we still

have? Can anything be half so ugly as the matrix which, every time it is passed by those who should have cared for the preservation of its contents, suggests their silent condemnation? We, as a society of archæologists, ought to see in these relics more than the ordinary onlooker; and not only should we see, but be able to explain that which our experience has taught us; in this way gradually extending the knowledge which it is the object of societies like ours to diffuse. In attempting to talk to you on so extensive a subject as the Brasses of Warwickshire, you will not expect me in the little time at my disposal to treat the subject at all exhaustively; in fact, the great object of this paper is rather to place on record the local habitation of the brasses at present existing in this county, which, I am sorry to say, since the time Dugdale wrote—very little more than two centuries ago—have decreased to the extent of at least twelve.

We are fortunate in being able, through the kindness and industry of two friends of the Institution (to whom presently I shall have the pleasure of introducing you), to see around the room rubbings of nearly all the brasses in the county.

You will not expect me to point out more than their chief features, leaving the more learned discussion for others better fitted for the purpose than I am.

Mr. Bloxam, whose opinion will always be received with that great respect to which it is entitled, says the earliest monument in this county is the well-known Maen hir, called the "King stone," situated in the parish of Long Compton. And as the Maen hir was the precursor of the upright stone in our churchyards, so is the cromlech the prototype of our altar tombs or table monuments; and to any of my hearers who would like to study these records of the past whilst engaged in seeking health, I may say, both cromlechs and Maen hir are to be found at intervals from Criccieth to Barmouth.

As to the origin of brasses very little can be positively stated. Haines considers that they are the development of the idea sown by "incised slabs," and the process known as enamelling (some incised slabs had the incisions filled in either by a composition of different colours and material, or by inlaying a dark coloured stone with white marble or alabaster). Brasses seem to have appeared in England, France, and the Low Countries about the same period, *i.e.*, the thirteenth century. The date of the earliest known incised slab is about the eighth century, whilst the art of enamelling was introduced into Europe about the close of the tenth century; though it is evident the art was known to the Egyptians, from the remains that have been found on the ornamental envelopes of mummies. From Egypt it passed to Greece, thence to Rome and its provinces, of which Great Britain was one.

The earliest brass recorded in England is that of Simon de Beauchamp, who died before 1208. This brass was in St. Paul's Church, Bedford. The Beauchamps of that day were barons of Bedford, and hereditary almoners to the

king on the day of his coronation. The earliest existing specimen is that of Sir John d'Abernon, of Stoke d'Abernon, Surrey, 1277. Next in date, about 1290, is that of Sir Roger Trumpington, and though not of this county (but of Cambridge), I cannot resist calling your attention to it as one of the most beautiful military brasses in the kingdom. This effigy is armed in complete mail, consisting of the hauberk, or shirt of mail, reaching nearly to the knees; the *coif de mailles*, which wraps round the neck and head; and long sleeves terminating in mufflers or gloves, not divided at the fingers. The legs and feet are encased in chausses of mail, which in some instances were in one piece with the hauberk. The knees were protected by knee-pieces made of leather, usually much ornamented. Around the ankles single-pointed or prick spurs are buckled. Over the armour is the sleeveless surcoat, confined round the waist with a girdle. The surcoat was frequently ornamented with the armorial bearings of the wearer. You will observe the ailettes, or small square shields (prototypes of our epaulettes), which, I presume, were of use in supporting the enormous heaume or bascinet, which you will observe is attached to the girdle by a chain, so that if unfortunately the head-gear was knocked off in combat, the knight may be able to recover it (though I could never understand how it could be so removed without the head going with it). The shield, in this case bearing the arms (allusive), is worn on the left side. A large sword, very much enriched about the scabbard and hilt, is suspended from the left side, but is shown more as in the middle of the body, and is evidently an objeet of interest to the dog at the knight's feet. This brass may be considered as representative of the best type or style that prevailed at the end of the thirteenth, and beginning of the fourteenth, centuries, and we must consider ourselves fortunate in having such a splendid tracing for our illustration. The earliest recorded brass in the county is that of a lady, probably of the Astley family, at Astley, 1400. She is clothed in the sideless tunic, or cote hardi (a garment noteworthy for the time it remained in fashion, say from 1340 till late in the fifteenth century), under which is the kirtle, the whole covered by a mantle fastened by a tasselled cord drawn through studs. The cote hardi seems to be furred and jewelled. The ends of the head-dress are visible on each side of the hands, which are raised as in prayer. Long mittens cover the wrists and hands. Headless brasses of ladies are unsatisfactory. This example eminently so. She is described on the rubbing as "loose in the nave." The next in date is 1401, that of Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and wife, which is one of the finest brasses I shall bring to your notice.

There are many advantages to be derived from this interesting study, and not the least is the ease with which we are able to put ourselves in possession of accurate copies of them, such as you see around. And, should you require an incentive other than the love of such antiquities, you may remember that

England is the only country in which anything like a series of these interesting relics is to be found ; scarcely one is to be found in France ; reigns of terror and those changes which will happen to our neighbours have not been conducive to the preservation of brasses. We are fortunate in having in the Bodleian Library seventeen hundred drawings, bequeathed by Gough, of the finest sepulchral brasses of that country (all that is left of them). Only one is known in Scotland (in Glasgow Cathedral), two in Ireland, very few are to be found in Wales, not more than six ; at Swansea is probably the finest. The lover of architecture will find his reward in the knowledge to be obtained by the study of the various styles of architecture prevailing at different periods, as seen in the accessories, such as brackets, canopies, &c. ; to the genealogist the study will commend itself as affording contemporary evidence not elsewhere to be found ; to the lover of heraldry it will give many examples of ancient usage in bearing arms, and many instances of heraldic design, such as a device, or rebus, which are sure indications of date when frequently all traces of letters or figures have vanished. From the style of lettering in the inscription the date of erection may be determined. Records of the founder, and date of building of a church, are supplied ; and I venture to assert there is no finer encyclopædia of costume than that to be found recorded on the various brasses in this country. Add to this their durability and convenience, representing as they do in plane almost as much as sculptured effigies do in relief, without monopolising space, which, I trust, may be more advantageously occupied by worshippers. I think we may decide that memorials such as these may be fitly chosen to supersede the monstrosities with which bad taste has marred the resting places of our dead, since the fashion of memorial brasses has to a certain extent ceased. And we at any rate may welcome the growing custom of commemorating our friends by such evidences of good taste as memorial windows and sepulchral brasses. In this town we are proud to have those amongst us who can and do produce them in a manner worthy of the best days of the art. I allude, of course, to the Messrs. Hardman and others.

Mr. Albert Way, in a paper in "Archæologia," says that brasses made in France and Flanders were formed of one large sheet of metal, the background diapered to show up the figures ; whereas in England the slab of marble to which the brass was affixed served as the field ; the figure, the escutcheons, the architectural decorations being all formed of separate pieces of metal fixed in separate cavities prepared on the slab to receive them. This difference most likely arose from the greater accessibility of brass plate on the Continent, none being made in England until 1649. The inscription is usually on the margin of the stone, surrounding the figure, sometimes upon a plate below it. The letters generally face from the brass, and the earliest inscriptions are in Lombardic characters. Originally each letter was cast separately, and inlaid or embedded in the slab, but this method

was soon abandoned owing to the liability of the letters to be lost. The inscriptions were then engraved on broad bands or strips of brass. About the middle of the fourteenth century, the short and thick characters with Lombardic capitals became common. Inscriptions for priests are generally in Latin; for knights and ladies in Norman French, that being the language of the court at the time. Only two inscriptions in English are recorded in this century (the fourteenth).

The emblems used in connection with brasses would of themselves form the subject of a very instructive and interesting paper. They consist (amongst many others) of symbols of the Trinity, emblems of our Lord, figures of saints with their emblems. The emblems of the Evangelists are frequently found forming the corners in the inscriptions at the angles of the slab or tomb. Knights had their armorial bearings displayed on the surcoats which they wore over their armour, on shields at the angles of the monuments, or on separate shields inlaid on the slabs. The inscription has sometimes a family badge between each word. The crest is displayed on the helmet, which serves as a pillow for the head of the knight. Knights and civilians wore the collars to which they were entitled, these serving to indicate rank as much as other heraldic insignia. One of the collars often met with is that of S.S., as to the origin of which there has been much speculation, not yet at an end. In many cases the collars are composed of the badges of the illustrious houses of which the wearers were adherents, and to a great extent must be looked upon as a mark of livery. The collar of suns and roses was the mark of Edward IV.'s party. On a brass at Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, is to be seen one of mermaids, the badge of the Berkeleys. The collar of S.S. is to be seen on the brass of Sir William and Lady Bagot, at Baginton. This collar is also seen on the sculptured monument of Sir H. Stafford, at Bromsgrove. At Aston we have two effigies, the one with collar of S.S., the badge of the House of Lancaster, the other with the suns and roses of York. Mr. J. G. Nichols says there is evidence to show that the letter S. was the device, and the collar of S.S. the livery of Henry IV. (cir. 1400), and he further believes it was originally the device of his father, the Duke of Lancaster, who was Seneschall or High Steward of England. Others think it was intended to represent the initial of Henry's favorite motto of "Soverayne." The creation of an esquire was performed by the ceremony of placing a silver collar of S.S. round the neck of the candidate as an ensign of that dignity. The qualification for this rank in the sixteenth century was limited to such as could afford to spend £200 per annum. Frequently under the feet of the knight will be found the representation of a lion, signifying courage, whilst at the feet or fawning upon the female figure will be found a dog, or dogs, emblem of fidelity. Before the Reformation (1534 to 1538), priests were generally represented in full sacerdotal vestments, holding in their hands the chalice and wafer with the sacred monogram. We are fortunate in having in this county, and in the same

church at Coleshill, a figure of a priest before and after the Reformation. The first is that of William Abell, Vicar, 1500, which is supposed to be the production of a local artist. It is a small figure in plain amice, albe, and chasuble, without stole or maniple, holding a chalice in his right hand, and supporting the base with his left. The wafer is inscribed with the second monogram.

On a plate beneath the figure is inscribed :—

"Hic jacet Dns Willm' Abell quodm vicari' isti'
"eccl'ie qui quide dns Willm' obiit xviii° die mes
"maye ano dni m.d. cui' aie p'piciet' de' am'."

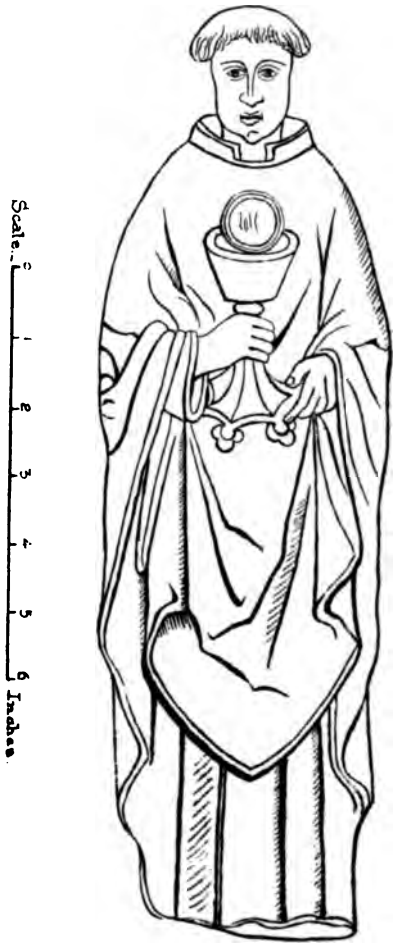
Translation :—"Here lieth Sir William Abell, sometime Vicar of this Church, which Sir William died the 18th day of May, A.D. 1500, whose soul God pardon. Amen."

The next is that of Sir John Fenton, Vicar, 1566. He is habited simply in cassock and Genevan gown, holding in his left hand a Bible, inscribed "Verbum dei." The inscription is :—"Here lieth the body of Sir John Fenton prest "Bachelor of Law sometime vicar of this church and offishall of Coventree who "deceased the 17th daye of Maye 1566 whose soul Jesus pardon. Amen."

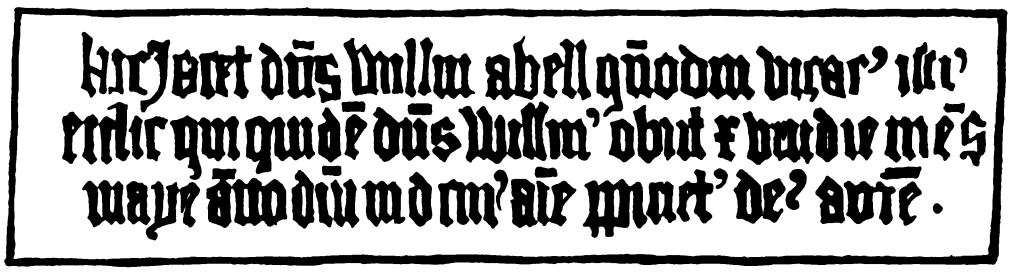
You will pardon my dismissing the subject of ecclesiastical vestments in so short a manner, but I find to go into the question thoroughly would occupy more time than can be allowed for the whole of the paper. As I have before observed, the study of the examples of costume thus afforded us is probably one of the most interesting branches into which the subject may be divided.

I shall call your attention in passing to the most prominent peculiarities appearing in any of the brasses around you.

The costume of ladies is as varied and much more fascinating than that of the ecclesiastics. So far as I have been able to glean, the fashions of those days changed less frequently than at the present time, but often enough to leave their mark and characteristics on the different centuries. Head-dresses especially were generally fearfully and wonderfully made, and include a great variety of shapes, from the simple gorget or wimple to the more elaborate and, one would think, cumbersome—such as the pedimental, the horned or mitred, the butterfly, and many others. Of course their dresses were also varied, shall I say as only the female costume can be. Frequently they were used, as was the surcoat of the knight, for pourtraying armorial bearings ; in such case the kirtle or bodice was embroidered with the lady's own family arms, and the outer garment or mantle with those of her husband. In the fifteenth century unmarried ladies were depicted with their hair worn long. Civilians in the fourteenth century were usually habited in a close fitting tunic reaching below the knees, and with tight sleeves. Hose and shoes were generally worn. Sometimes the tunic was longer and confined with a girdle. In the fifteenth century brasses of civilians became more numerous, and their dresses more elaborate and costly. Strutt



In Coleshill Church.



says that at the close of the fifteenth century "the dress of the English was "exceedingly fantastical and absurd, insomuch that it was even difficult to "distinguish one sex from the other." I can fancy flashing through the minds of some of my hearers the adage, "History repeats itself." The mantle was worn by others than judges, viz., mayors and civic functionaries, of whom it is afterwards a distinctive garment. The effigies of some have an anelace or broad dagger suspended at the left side. Towards the end of the century the tunic reached to the ancles, and the anelace is superseded by the gypcière or pouch suspended to the girdle. Merchants have occasionally some emblem of their trade; for a wool stapler their feet on a woolsack, for a tailor a pair of shears, &c., &c. Merchants' marks are also found. In the sixteenth century the gown was shorter, with long false sleeves, with slits at the upper part for the passage of the arms, the lower part of the sleeves hanging down by the sides. The doublet or vest was longer, and nearly covered the trunk hose; these latter at the beginning of the next century were succeeded by knee breeches. It is useful to remember in endeavouring to fix dates, that heraldic supporters are not met with earlier than 1290, and by no means generally until Henry VI.'s time, say the middle of the fifteenth century. In the royal arms the arms of France were first quartered by Edward III. about 1341, the fleurs-de-lys were then semeé, *i.e.*, sprinkled over the field, and continued so until 1365, when they were altered to three only. Until the same reign no coronets are found on the heads of effigies. The first known is that of William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, 1304, and that only a plain fillet, but in 1334 the effigy of the second son of Edward III. has a coronet with leaves upon it; both of these personages are buried in Westminster Abbey.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century inscriptions were in French, not Latin. In inscriptions after 1547 (Edward VI.) the old Gothic square letter changed into Roman round hand, and the words "Orate pro anima" at the commencement of the sentence were omitted. Rowel spurs are first seen on the great seal of Henry III., but were not common before the time of Edward I.

As many of our finest monumental brasses are of knights it is well to know that at the beginning of the thirteenth century the armour is wholly of mail; towards the middle of the century we find additional defences over the mail, either of metal plates or *cuir bouilli* (boiled leather). In the fourteenth century the armour is mixed, part mail, part plate; towards the end of the century no mail is left except the camail. In the fifteenth century only plate armour is used. In the sixteenth century the acute and long-toed solleret gave place to sabbatons, which were short, and broad at the toes.

I trust these few remarks will enable you to form some idea as to probable date of any brass. The workmanship of the earlier brasses is quite equal, if not superior in beauty of design, form, and execution to any of a later date. The

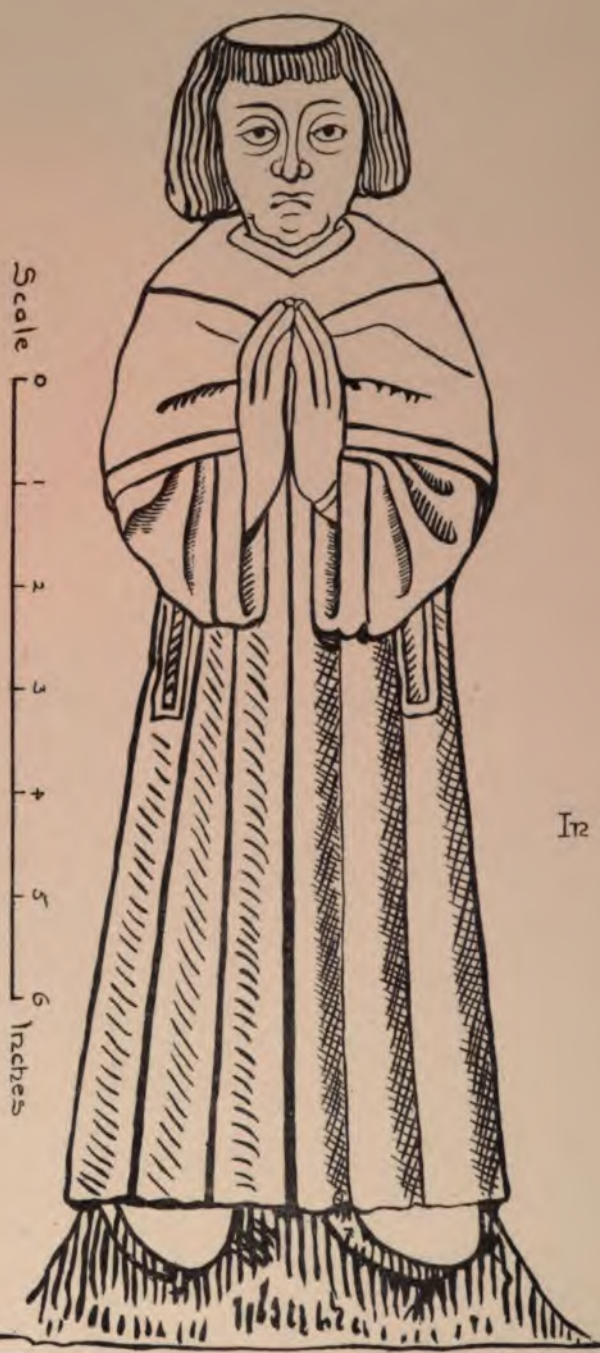
figures on earlier brasses are usually represented in a recumbent posture, heads resting on helmets, cushions, &c.; feet on representations of lions, dogs, &c.; those of a later date are standing or kneeling; the hands are commonly raised in attitude of prayer. Effigies of man and wife are usually about same size, wife generally on left of husband, an arrangement probably of heraldic origin, as the wife's arms are always on the left side of the shield. It is not considered probable that there was any attempt at portraiture in the earlier brasses, but towards the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the mural brasses had become more like pictures, and the engraving more resembling copper-plate, portraits may have been attempted.

As my remarks on brasses generally are now drawing to a close, may I be allowed to say a few words more than I did at the commencement of this paper on the duty we owe to succeeding generations in preserving all such memorials? I would suggest, as a first step in this direction, the proper education of our rising generation in the knowledge of what constitute our national antiquities, and in the amount of reverence which is due to all things artistic, more especially when that quality is combined with antiquity. It seems to me that the preservation of our national antiquities should form part of our system of national education.

Before enumerating the brasses of this county I must express my indebtedness to my friends, Mr. J. A. Cossins and Mr. E. W. Badger, Jun.—to the former for the loan of rubbings in his possession—to the latter for the trouble and energy displayed in taking rubbings of almost every brass in the county—which he has most unselfishly placed at my service.

I will now briefly call your attention to the brasses of Warwickshire, rubbings of which you see around you. The county contains about sixty brasses in forty churches. I will take the Priests first, and in chronological order. Our earliest example of an ecclesiastic is in S. Nicholas' Church at WARWICK, and represents Robert Willardsey, first vicar, 1424, clothed in the vestments for Mass, viz., amice, alb, chasuble or chesible, stole, and maniple. (The maniple originally was nothing more than a strip of the finest linen attached to the wrist of the priest by a loop, and used to wipe the chalice.) The alb has ornaments termed apparels at the wrists and at the feet in front. The priest's hands are raised as in prayer. This brass is noteworthy as having been lost and found; the following note in "Churches of Warwickshire" may have led to its restoration:—

"It is greatly to be regretted that this interesting sepulchral memorial has "for some years been missing from the church. As it is supposed, however, to "be in private hands and not destroyed, great hopes are entertained that it will "be restored to its proper place." This was written about 1847. In Haines' "Manual of Monumental Brasses," 1861, it is mentioned as replaced.



In Barcheston Church.

Orate pro aia hanonus bunfray magistri
artium nec non in sacra scia theologie bachelerij
cuius anime propicietur deus amen ✠

The inscription is as follows :—

"Hic jacet Robtus Willardsey prim' vicari' isti' | ecclie qui obiit xiii° die "mens' marcii anno dni | millo cccc°xxiiij° cui' aie ppicietur deus ame."

Translation :—"Here lieth Robert Willardsey, first vicar of this church, who died the 13th day of the month of March, A.D. 1424; on whose soul God have mercy. Amen."

The next in date is the brass of Thomas Mastropp, priest, 1463, at TYSOE. He is habited in amice, alb richly apparelled, chasuble, maniple, and stole, and holds in both hands a chalice. Judging from Dugdale, he was not incumbent of Tysoe. Inscription :—"Hic jacet dns Thoms Mastrupe qnda capellan' isti' "ecce qui obiit | xxix die mes Novebri' A° dni m°cccc°lx°iij cui' aie ppiciet' "deus ame." Translation :—"Here lieth Sir Thomas Mastrupe, sometime chaplain of this church, who died the 29th day of the month of November, A.D. 1463. On whose soul God have mercy. Amen."

The brasses at COLESHILL have already been noticed on page 22.

William Auldyngton, parson of WHATCOTE from 1486 to 1511, is clad similarly to the priest at Tysoe; a difference in the shape of the shoes may be noticed; in the one instance they are rather broad, in the other very pointed. In this example the sleeves of the alb are much wider. The head is unfortunately lost. The inscription is :—"Pray for the sowl of Wyllm Aul | dyngton somtyme "parson here | on whos sowle Ihu have myrcy."

The next rubbing to which I shall call your attention is one which Dugdale describes as follows :—"In the body of the church (*i.e.*, GREAT PACKINGTON,) "is a gravestone, and thereon a portraiture in brass with this epitaph," &c. The inscription now extant, reads :—"Hic jacet dns Johes Wright | qunda vicarius "istius ecclie q obiit | viij diee mes marcii anno dni | m°ccccc°xxvii cus aie "ppciet' de'." It may be translated :—"Here lieth Sir John Wright, sometime vicar of this church, who died the 8th day of March, A. D. 1527 : on whose soul God have mercy."

He was vicar from 1503 to 1527.

At BARCHESTON is the brass of Hugh Humfray, who was incumbent from 1503 to 1530. He is habited in cassock, tippet, and hood, is tonsured, and has very long hair. The inscription is:—"Orate pro aia hugonis humfray magistri | "arcm nec non in sacra sca theologie bachelerii | cuius anime propicietur deus "amen." Translation:—"Pray for the soul of Hugh Humfray, Master of Arts, also Bachelor of Divinity, whose soul God pardon. Amen."

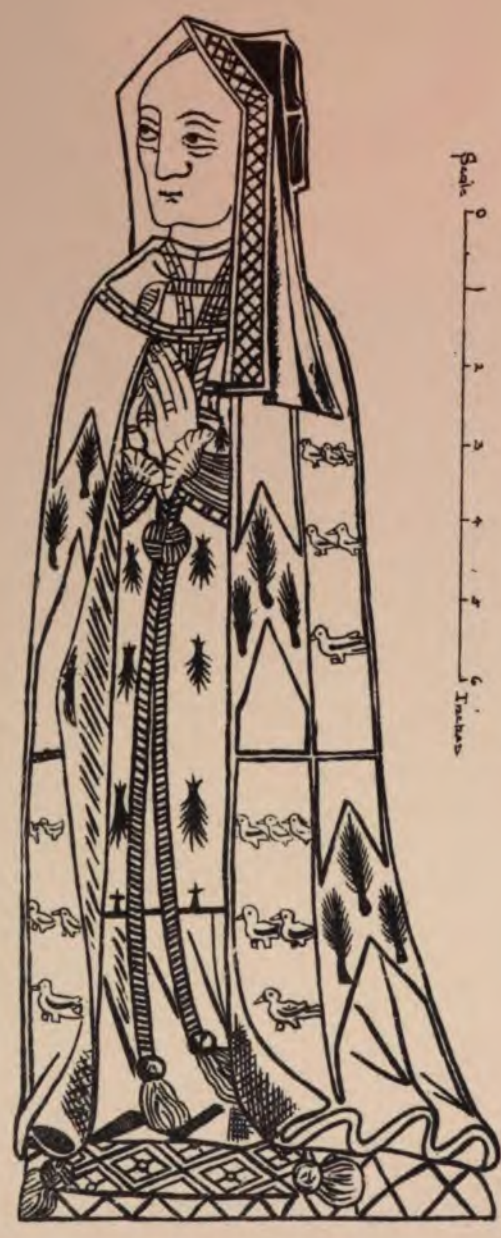
At WHITNASH is a memorial to Richard Bennett, M.A., 1531, with chalice and wafer, supposed to be the production of a local artist. This figure also is clad in Eucharistic vestments, and is notable for the absence of the maniple. The chalice now in use at Whitnash Church is an exact copy of that in the hands of the priest. The following is the inscription:—"Hic loci sepelitur dmns

"Ricardus Bennet artis laice magistri | atque huius quondā ecclesie diligens "pastor qui fatis cōcessit | viij die mēsis Januarii ānō dnī m cccccxxxj cuius "misereat' d'." Translation:—"In this place is buried Sir Richard Bennet, Master of Arts and sometime the diligent pastor of this church, who fulfilled his allotted time on the 8th of January, A.D. 1531; on whom God have mercy."

UFTON church contains the brass of Richard Woddomes, parson, patron, and vossioner of the church and parish, 1587, with wife and seven children. This brass is extremely interesting, for the one word "vossioner" which it contains is a puzzle to most archæologists, though it is now understood to mean that as patron he occupied his own advowson. This memorial is a type of the decadence of the art of engraving brasses, when it descended from something typifying the deceased to a mere specimen of copper-plate engraving. All the beautiful simplicity and ease is gone, and a couple of no doubt very worthy people are depicted with a family of such monotonous regularity as must have reduced life to a dead level. The inscription reads:—"Here lyeth the Boddyes "of Richard Woddomes Pars- | son and pattron and Vossioner of the Church "and parishe | of Oufton in the Countie of Warrike who Died one | Mydsomer "daye, 1587. And Margerye his Wyffe w^th^ | her seven childryn as namelye "Richard John & John Anne Jone Elizabeth Ayles his iiij dawghters | whose "soule restethe with God."

At WHICHFORD is Nicholas Asheton, B.D. of Cambridge, Chaplain of the Earl of Derby, Rector, formerly Vicar of Kendal, near Great Leaver, Lancashire, 1582. He is vested in the cassock or side-gown, open in front, showing his doublet, which has sleeves wide at the wrists. Over the gown is the scarf of his degree. His hands are raised as in prayer, and his hair, which is rather long, resembles a wig. There are four shields of arms at the corners of the gravestone—Asheton quartering Lever. The inscription:—"Hic jacet Nicholaus "Asheton sacrae theologiae Bacchalaureus | Cantabr: Cappellanus Comitis "Darbie: nuper Rector istius | ecclesiae: ac olim vicarius de Kendalle "Lancastrensis apud | Magna Leaver: qui obiit ultimo die mensis Septembris "Anno | dnī millesimo quingentesimo octogessimo secundo Regni | Elizabethae "Reg: vicessimo quarto." Translation:—"Here lieth Nicholas Asheton B.D. of Cambridge: chaplain of the Earl of Derby: lately rector of this church, and sometime Vicar of Kendal in Lancashire near Great Leaver: who died on the last day of September A.D. 1582 in the 24th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth."

Note upon the Designations of Ecclesiastics.—According to Fuller, quoted by Haines, Vol. I., p. 97—"Such priests as have 'Sir' before their "Christian name were not graduated in the University, being in orders "and not in degrees; whilst others, entitled 'Masters,' had commenced "in the Arts." In accordance with this statement the title "Dominus" has throughout this paper been translated "Sir," and "Magister" "Master."



Loope in the Domestic Chapel of Baddesley Clinton Hall. In the possession of E. M. Dering Esq.

Under the Pews of the South Aisle Hillmorton Church.

We will now examine the brasses commemorating ladies.

HILLMORTON.—A lady, circ. 1410. This fine effigy, 4ft. 6in. long, is very similar to the brass at Merevale. It is underneath the floor of a pew in the south aisle of the church, and is in fairly good preservation. The lady is clad in a close-fitting kirtle, with sleeves reaching to the knuckles. Over the kirtle is a mantle drawn together by a cord. The head-dress is that known as the *crespine* (see MEREVALE), with which is worn a graceful kerchief. At the lady's feet are two small lap-dogs. From her hands proceeds a scroll, part of which, containing the angel's salutation to S. Mary the Virgin, is lost. The following words are left:—"Ave . . . . fruct' ventris tui. Jhū fili dei miserere mei." That is in English:—"Hail . . . . fruit of thy womb. Jesu son of God have mercy on me." There is no other inscription left; on either side of the effigy is the matrix of a small shield.

Dugdale records "two gravestones of marble having small portraitures in "brass," a description which does not suit this example.

At TYSOE are two small brasses not mentioned by Haines or Dugdale. The first is a demi-figure of a female, representing Jane, daughter of Robert Gibbs, first wife of Nicholas Browne, dressed in the costume usually found at the latter end of the sixteenth century. Beneath the figure is this inscription:—"In hoc tumulo conduntur Corpora Nicholai | Browne et Janae uxoris ejus filiae "natu maximae | Roberti Gibbs de Honnington armigeri et Mar | geriae Pridox "primae ejus uxoris quae Jana diem | obiit undecimo die Augusti Anō Domini "milesimo | quingentesimo nonagesimo octavo." It may thus be translated:—"In this tomb are laid the bodies of Nicholas Browne and Jane his wife (the eldest daughter of Robert Gibbs of Honnington gentleman & Margery Pridox his first wife) which Jane died the 11th day of August A.D. 1598." The brass of Tomizane, second wife of Nicholas Browne, is only noticeable for the arms, which seem to be those of the family of Horsey, one of whom married Dorothea, a daughter of Browne. The inscription is:—"Here lyeth the body of | Tomizane "Browne second | wife of Nicholas Browne | who deceased ye 5 day of May | "1611."

At COLESHILL is a brass in memory of Alice, daughter of Simon Digby, and wife of Robert Clifton; date 1506. There is nothing striking in her costume. She wears the pedimental head-dress with plain lappets, and a kirtle with mitten sleeves, which were worn just one century earlier. Her dress is confined with a girdle, from which depends an article which may be a pomander of open metal-work for containing scent or preservatives against infection, or for holding a metal ball for warming the hands. The inscription (on brass strips placed in the ordinary manner round the effigy) reads thus:—"Of your charitie "pray for the soule of | Alice Clifton late the wyffe of Robert Clifton Esqre. and

"daughter of Simon Digby Esqre. wh: Alice | . . . . . |
"and the yeare of our Lord God MCCCCCVI. on whose soule Ihū have mercy.
"Amen."

On the north wall of the chancel at MIDDLETON is a small brass in memory of Dorothy, daughter of Sir Henry Willoughby, and wife of Anthony Fitzherbert. The memorial consists of a small shield, bearing the arms of Fitzherbert impaling Willoughby, viz., arg., a chief verre or and gu; over all a bend sa.; and or, two bars gu., charged with three water-bougets of the field. The shield which was until quite recently screwed upside down against the wall has now been restored to its proper position in its original matrix, the original stone having been discovered during some alterations to the chancel. Beneath the shield is a small quadrangular plate bearing the following inscription:—
"Hic jacet Dorothea filia Hēricī Wiloughby | militis ac uxor Antonii ffitzherbert
"qᵉ obiit | quto die Nouēbris aᵒ dn̄i mᵒccccc septiō"; which may be translated:—"Here lieth Dorothy daughter of Henry Wiloughby, Knight, and wife of Antony Fitzherbert, who died the 5th day of November 1507." The letters of this inscription are remarkably well formed and clear, and the inscription is noticeable as being in relief, and not incised. The ground of the plate is coarsely scored with oblique lines from right to left, which seem to have been intended to hold the enamel which probably surrounded the letters. Dorothy Fitzherbert was great grand-daughter of Margaret, wife of Sir Richard Byngham (see notice of brass following), and widow of Sir Hugh Wiloughby. Antony Fitzherbert was Justice of the King's Bench to Henry VIII.

We have next the brass of Sir Richard Byngham, Knight, Justice of the King's Bench, 1476, and his widow, Margaret, daughter of Sir Baldwin Freville, and first the wife of Sir Hugh Wiloughby. The judge wears his judicial robes, which consist of the coif or close-fitting skull cap, and a long robe with narrow sleeves, trimmed at the cuffs and lower edges with ermine or minever. The robe is buttoned upon the right shoulder, and over it is apparently a hood. The shoes are very pointed; the hands are raised. This effigy of his wife, who survived him until 1505, is clad in a long flowing robe, beneath which appears a close-fitting dress, confined at the waist by a band. Her neck is enclosed in a wimple, or feminine adaptation of a knight's camail—this was the distinguishing badge of widowhood—and her head is covered with a kerchief arranged to fall over the shoulders. On her right wrist hangs a rosary; on the first and third fingers of her right hand are rings. Judging from Dugdale's description of the brass, it has undergone some alterations; in Dugdale's time there were shields of arms at the corners. Beneath the effigies is this inscription:—"Hic jacent dn̄s
"Ricardus Byngham miles et Justiciari' de banko dn̄i regis qui obiit xxiiᵒ | die
"maii ano dn̄i milli'o cccᵒ lxxviᵒ et dn̄a Margarita sui cōsors quom aiabs ppicietur

"deus amē." Translation:—"Here lie Sir Richard Byngham Knight and Justice of the King's Bench, who died the 22nd day of May A.D. 1476, and the Lady Margaret his wife: to whose souls God be merciful. Amen."

COVENTRY. *S. Michael's Church.*—The brass of Maria Hinton, with four infant children, 1594, illustrates the manner of depicting children who died in infancy. Maria Hinton wears a high-crowned hat with a brim much turned up at the sides, and turned down at the front. She has apparently no Paris hood. Round her neck is a high, close-fitting ruff. Her bodice is rather plain, but there are small puffs at the shoulders: the sleeves are striped or banded: the skirt is plain and confined at the waist by a girdle. She is kneeling at one side of an altar-tomb, on which lie effigies of four infants swathed in the chrysom or white cloth in which infants were invested at their baptism. If the child, who was itself termed a chrysom, died before a month old, the white vesture served as a shroud. I find among other vestments at S. Michael's mention made of "a "piece of Auter cloths or crissomes," also a note that they were supplied by the priest and were to be returned after seven days. This brass is now mural and is badly worn. It bears the following epitaph:—"Mariae Hinton faeminae "lectissimae | uxori dilectae probae et piae maritus | amoris hoc sui monumentum "posuit.

"Quae pietatis eras, quae relligionis amore,
"Et matronali cunctis gravitate probata,
"Vivens, et moriens, constans exemplar amicis,
"Vivendi in vita, moriendi in morte relinquis.
"Sic tibi sic vivit vitae bona fama peractae,
"Sic tibi sic vitae constat spes una perennis
"Obiit Annum agens trigesimum
"Aprilis 27° 1594."

Which may be rendered:—"To Maria Hinton, a most excellent woman, a wife beloved, upright, and dutiful, her husband has set up this memorial of his love.

"Thou who wast approved by all for love of dutifulness and of religion, and for matronly gravity, living and dying dost leave to thy friends a lasting pattern, of living, by thy life, of dying, by thy death. Thus for thee there lives a good report of life past, thus for thee is assured an undying hope of life everlasting. She died in her 30th year | April 27th 1594."

In the same church is also a small brass of Ann, wife of Wm. Sewell, vintner, 1609. She is dressed in much the same manner as Maria Hinton, but the hat is larger, its brim is broader, not turned up at the sides, and it is wreathed round the crown. Beneath the hat she wears a Paris hood which allows her hair to be seen brushed back from the forehead. Her dress has a stomacher plaited horizontally; instead of being puffed at the shoulders it is

ornamented with circular bands which project like epaulets. The sleeves are close-fitting, and the skirt plain without a girdle. The inscription reads :—

" Her zealous care to serve her God,
" Her constant love to husband deare,
" Her harmeless heart to everyone,
" Doth live although her corps lie here.
" God graunte us all while glasse doth rū
" To live in Christ as she hath done.

" Ann Sewell ye wife of Willm Sewell of this citty vint | ner departed this " life ye 20th of Dicem 1609 of the age of | 46 yeares; an humble follower of " her Saviour Christ | and a worthy stirror up of others to all holy vertues."

At SUTTON COLDFIELD is the figure of Barbara Eliot, wife of Roger Eliot, rector in 1595. She died in 1606, aged 24. We have here a decidedly Elizabethan costume, the dress contracted at the waist, projecting at the hips, and having a stomacher ornamented with scales. The lady's head is covered with a variety of the Paris hood, but instead of a hat she wears a kerchief which falls upon her shoulders; round her neck is a ruff. On her right side is represented a son, and on the left a daughter. The inscription says :—

" Hic jacet Barbara Eliot Filia Raphaelis Simonds ge | nerosi uxor Magistri " Rogeri Eliot rectoris hujus | ecclesiae quae obiit mense Sept. an° Dni millesi° " sex | cent sexto An° aetatis suae vicesim° quarto et habuit | exitu Raphaelem " Eliot at Elizabetha Eliot."

Translation :—" Here lieth Barbara Eliot, daughter of Raphael Simonds, gentleman, wife of Master Roger Eliot, rector of this church; who died in the month of Sept., A.D. 1606, in the 24th year of her age, and had issue, Raphael Eliot and Elizabeth Eliot."

At TANWORTH is the brass of Margaret, wife of Andrew Archer, 1614. Her husband was one of the Archers of Umberslade—you will remember Westley's view of the east prospect of Birmingham is dedicated to Thos. Henry Archer. This family, now extinct, had the ill-fortune to be raised to the peerage in the reign of George II., with the title of Baron Umberslade. Mark the result: his lordship was succeeded by his son Andrew, on whose decease, 1778, without male issue, the title became extinct. The chronicler goes on to say "it is remarkable that this is the first instance of the failure of male issue in this family for more than 600 years." Another very important matter in connection with this family is that Dugdale is said to have laid the foundation of his work with materials which had been got together by the Archer family. Tanworth church seems to have suffered severely. I read "the porch had anciently pictures of brass in it, and so upon the gravestone was a plate of brass with a superscription upon it, but they are all taken

HIC IACET BARBARA ELIOT FILIA RAPHAELIS SIMONDS GE
NEROSI VXOR MAGISTRI ROGERI ELIOT RECTORIS HVIVS
ECCLESIÆ QVÆ OBIJT MENSE SEPT. AN° DNĪ MILLESI: SEX
CENT: SEXTO AN° ÆTATIS SVÆ VICESIM. QVARTO ET HABVIT
EXITV RAPHAELEM ELIOT ET ELIZABETHA ELIOT

away." There appear to have been at least six brasses in this church, there are now only two. The one under consideration is now fixed in a wooden frame, which adds to its picture-like character. The lady is kneeling before a faldstool upon which lies an open book. She wears the frontlet or Paris hood, and a ruff round her neck. Her costume consists of bodice and kirtle, over which is a loose sleeveless garment open at the front and richly brocaded. The figure is most graceful. In one corner of the plate are the arms of Archer and Raleigh —she was daughter of Simon Raleigh. The arms are impaled and over each are their respective crests, a most unusual thing. The most graceful compliment is paid to the lady in the arrangement of the lambrequin or mantling at the back of the shields. The one half is in the usual form, but the lady's arms have an especially feminine form of mantle. I believe this is the only arrangement of the kind in the county. The engraving and general treatment of the whole subject is so delicate and refined, in comparison with other brasses of the same date, that one is tempted to consider the work foreign. The inscription is as follows:—"Memoriae sacrum | Margaretae "Archer filiae Simonis Ralegh | de Farnborough armigeri quae fuit | mitissima "conjux Andee Archer de | Tanworth armigeri nec non adjutrix pauperum et "aegrotantium dum vixit quae | obiit deci° tertio die Augusti An° 1614;" which may be translated:—"Sacred to the memory of Margaret Archer, daughter of Simon Ralegh of Farnborough, gentleman, who was the most gentle wife of Andrew Archer of Tanworth, gentleman, and also the helper of the poor and sick during her lifetime; she died the 13th day of August, 1614."

The Farnborough or Farmborough is doubtless the place of that name in Warwickshire, as Dugdale states that the Raleghs purchased the manorial rights of Farnborough in 15th Eliz.

The Church of PRESTON BAGOT, a village named after its owners, the Bagots, contains a lady in the costume of the early part of the 17th century. The head is lost. The lady wears a falling collar worked at the edge, a short skirt showing a petticoat beneath —and a gown or robe open at the front.

This is the memorial of Elizabeth Randoll. Several Randolls are buried here, and Dugdale notices an epitaph of one who died about the same time as this lady:—"Here lieth John Randoll, by birth a Somersetshire man, sometime "a student of the law, regardful of his own and public peace, who died on the "Purification of S. Mary in the year of our Redemption 1626."

The inscription on the brass under consideration is:—

"Dormitorium Elizabethae Randoll Richī Knightley | de Burghehall in "com̄ staff̄ armiḡ filiae secundae | conjugis Willī Randoll legis consiliarii, quae "per | breves aliquot in hac parochia menses devotissima | deo amicissima "populo praecharissima marito suo | feliciter vixit et dein cum optima apud pios "memor | ia non sine plurima lamentatione spiritus ejus | rediit Deo illius datori

" 12° die Decembris A° Dni 1635 | cujus tamen caro viva sub spe hic secure
" requiescit | ac plena integrae per Jesum Redemptionis ad | ventu
" suo proximo ad optimam Resurrectionem."

Translation :—" The resting place of Elizabeth Randoll (second daughter of Richard Knightley of Burghehall in the county of Stafford esquire) wife of William Randoll barrister-at-law, who lived happily in this parish a few short months, most devoted to God, most friendly to the people, most especially dear to her husband, and then with most blessed memory among the pious, and to their deepest sorrow, her soul returned to God who gave it on the 12th day of December A.D. 1635. Her flesh nevertheless rests here peacefully in living and full hope of perfect Redemption through Jesus to a blessed Resurrection at his second coming."

MERIDEN. Here is the brass of Elizabeth Rotton, who died in 1638, aged 20. She wears on her head a cap, hanging loosely over her ears, with an escalloped border. About her neck is a large double falling-collar, almost like a cape, which is fastened at the front with a bow. Beneath this is a bodice or jacket tied at the waist with a sash. It has tight sleeves, and large cuffs ; the cuffs and collar are both escalloped at the edge, like the cap. To each shoulder of the bodice is fastened a broad lappet, which reaches to the elbow, where it is caught up on each side of the arm and tied in front with a bow. The skirt of her dress is quite plain ; her shoes high heeled, with rosettes in front. Beneath the effigy is the following curious inscription :—

" Memoriae sacrum | sub isto lapide marmoreo placide recumbit Eliza |
" betha Rotton singularis formae ac virtutis virgo filia | et haeres Thomae
" Rotton generosi et Margaretae | uxoris ejus, quae in florida (hêu) juventute
" ex hac | vita migravit 14° die Decembris A° aetatis suae 20 | et salutis nrae
" 1638.

The Text at her Funerall

" Math. 9. 24. The maide is not dead, but sleepeth.

Anagr. { Elisabeth Rotton / I to A blest Throne }

" Friends weepe noe more, when this NIGHTS SLEEPE is gone,

" I shall arise and goe TO A BLEST THRONE :"

The Latin may be rendered :—" Sacred to memory. Beneath this marble stone lieth in peace Elizabeth Rotton, a maid of uncommon beauty and virtue, the daughter and heiress of Thomas Rotton gent. and Margaret his wife ; who in the flower (alas) of her age departed out of this life the 14th of December in the year of her age the 20th & of our salvation 1638."

In the Church of S. Mary, WARWICK, is a magnificent brass worthily commemorating the noble but chequered life of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of

Plate II

Memoriæ Sacrum.

SVB isto LAPIDE MARMOREO PLACIDE RECVMBIT ELIZA=
BETHA ROTTON, SINGVLARIS FORMÆ AC VIRTVTIS VIRGO, FILIA
ET HÆRES THOMÆ ROTTON GENEROSI, ET MARGARETÆ=
VXORIS EIVS, QVÆ IN FLORIDA (HÊV) IVVENTVTE EX HAC=
VITA MIGRAVIT 14° DIE DECEMBRIS A°. ÆTATIS SVÆ 20
ET. SALVTIS NRÆ 1638/

The Text at her Funerall.

Math. 9. 24 *The maide is not dead, but sleepeth.*

Anagr= { Elisabeth Rotton
I to a blest Throne }

FREINDS WEEPE NOE MORE WHEN this NIGHTS SLEEPE IS GONE,
I SHALL A RISE, AND GOE TO A BLEST THRONE :/

Warwick. He succeeded to the title at the age of 24, was chosen governor to King Richard II., then in his minority, who, early asserting his independence, dismissed the Earl. Beauchamp returned to Warwick, built Guy's Tower at a cost of £395 5s. 2d., and completed the body of the Collegiate Church of our Lady at Warwick in 1394. He was condemned to lose his head on a charge of high treason, but was spared and banished, all his estates being taken from him. He was subsequently imprisoned in the Tower, but at the revolution which placed Henry IV. on the throne he was restored to liberty and his estates.

On the brass, the Earl is represented with a pointed *bascinet*, to the border in front of which, ornamented with the cognizance of the ragged staff, the *camail* or tippet of chain-mail is attached. This covers the neck, breast, and shoulders. The arms are protected by brassarts, elbow pieces, and vambraces; and the hands by ornamental gauntlets of plate furnished with gadlings. At the elbows are small circular plates, called roundels, charged with the ragged staff. The jupon which covers the body armour is escalloped round the lower edge, and is charged with the armorial bearings of Beauchamp, "a fess between six cross crosslets." This is encircled horizontally about the hips by a highly ornamental belt, and the skirts of the hauberk appear below the escalloped border of the jupon. The sword (the scabbard and pommel of which are ornamented with the ragged staff) is attached on the left side to the sword belt, from the right side of which the anelace or dagger is suspended. The thighs, knees, legs, and feet are encased in cuisses, genouillières, jambs, and sollerets respectively, all of plate. The last are pointed at the toes, and formed of overlapping plates, ornamentally escalloped. Gussets of mail appear at the insteps, and to the heels the short-necked rowelled spurs are affixed. The feet rest on a bear; the hands are raised in prayer.

The Countess, who is represented on the right side of the Earl, is dressed in a low-bodiced gown, charged with her family arms "seven mascles." This gown fits tightly to the hips, from whence the skirts depend in loose folds to the feet. The close-fitting sleeves of the gown are buttoned half way up the hands. Her neck is bare. Over the gown is worn a long mantle, reaching from the shoulders to the feet, and fastened across the breast by a cord passing on each side through a metal loop called a fermaille. The mantle is charged with the arms of Beauchamp. At the feet of the Countess is a dog wearing a collar of bells. Round the Countess' forehead is a jewelled band; the head-dress, though simple, is singular, and appears to consist of a caul or cap covering the top of the head, whilst the ringlets fall on each side down to the shoulders, where the hair is gathered into smaller cauls. The armorial bearings on the dresses of both these effigies are beautifully and elaborately diapered with foliage by the method known as puncturing or pouncing. Each effigy was gilt, probably after the fire in 1694. The Earl died in 1401, the Countess in 1406.

WIXFORD. This magnificent brass of Thomas de Crewe, and Juliana, his wife, is worthy of more attention than it has been thought necessary to give to some of the others. Its size (9ft. by 4ft.), if nothing else, must command some attention ; the beautiful design and workmanship entitles it to more. Thomas de Crewe was a man of note ; he was a progressive man. Whether his success in life was due to his marriage or his skill in his profession I can find no data to guide me, but there is plenty of material out of which each of us may weave our own little romance. He was a lawyer, and married Juliana, the widow of one of the Cloptons, who were a powerful Warwickshire family, through whom he obtained a life interest in the manor of Wixford. In 1400 he was attorney to Mary Beauchamp, Countess of Warwick. Four years later he was knight of the shire in the parliament held at Coventry ; then justice of the peace and sheriff for this county and Leicestershire, still retaining his post as steward to the Beauchamps. Then the end is approaching, for on September 5, 1419, he makes his will, directing his body to be buried in the Chapel of S. John Baptist, adjoining the Church of S. Milburge, at Wixford, and departed this life the same year. The tomb (upon which is the brass) was erected in his life to the memory of his wife, who died in 1411. You will notice blanks are left in the inscription on the margin, which have not been filled in. Even in the case of a man in Crewe's position you will see on this brass traces of the remains of feudalism in placing the arms of his employers—the Beauchamps—in the point of honour. Next follow his own arms, "az., a lion rampant or, impaling quarterly per fesse indented his wife's" ; but as the tinctures are gone it is difficult to say to what family she belonged, probably either Bromley, Acton, or Leighton. The next shield is Crewe, then another with a cross of S. George. You will notice between the pinnacles of the canopy the badge of a naked left foot ; this is also repeated between each word of the inscription and in the quatrefoils at the base of the canopy. I have been unable to trace the origin of this badge. The crest of Crewe is "out of a ducal coronet a lion's jamb erect." The armour is a splendid example of plate, the change to which from chain-mail was effected about this date—1419. On the head is a conical bascinet, with an opening for the face. A gorget protects the throat, and joins the bascinet and cuirass, which last is formed of back and breast plate. Below the waist are a series of over-lapping plates, called taces, which reach a little below the hips ; oval palettes with a cross of S. George protect the shoulder joints, the arms are defended by brassarts, coutes, and vambraces, and the hands by cuffed gauntlets; the brassarts show the straps which fasten them. Upon the legs are cuisses, genouillières, and jambs, and the feet are enclosed in sollerets and bear rowelled spurs. The sword has a perfectly straight crossguard; singularly, the baldrick or belt has been omitted, so that the sword and misericorde may be called self-supporting. At the feet there is an amiable-looking lion.

The costume of the lady consists of the kirtle, a long gown with tight sleeves reaching to the knuckles and buttoned underneath as far as the elbow. Over the dress is a mantle, held together by a cord terminating in tassels. Upon her head the lady wears the graceful head-dress called the crespine. The hair was kept in place by a metal band reaching across the forehead, and terminating in cauls of golden or silver network ornamented with jewels at the intersection of the cords. Over the head is thrown a kerchief, which falls gracefully upon the shoulders. At her feet is a small dog, very much like our modern pug.

At MEREVALE is the brass of Robert Ld. Ferrers, of Chartley, and Margaret, his wife. The costumes are so similar to those last described that it will be unnecessary to dwell upon them. But the panache or plume of upright peacock's feathers, which formed the crest of the tilting helmet originally supporting the head of the Knight, calls for attention. At the bottom of the taces is a small edging of chain-mail, which ultimately developed into tuilles (of which we have specimens). In this brass the sword-belt is visible. At the Knight's feet is a curious-looking animal. The lady's head is supported by a good array of cushions; at her feet is a dog similar to that mentioned above. There is a difference of opinion as to the date of this brass. Haines puts it at 1412, Boutell at 1425.

At WELLESBOURNE-HASTINGS (at one time called Wellesbourne le Strange) is a neat little brass of Sir Thomas le Straunge, Constable of Ireland, who died 1426; it is noticeable chiefly for the collar of SS and the different shape of the coutes and palettes at elbows and armpits. The unusual length of the spurs is also worthy of note. The marginal inscription which has been restored is as follows:—" Hic jacet dominus Thoms. le Straunge miles ". . . nuper Constabularius regis in Hibernia qui obiit . . . tertio die Maii " Anno Domini MCCCCXXVI et regni Regis Henrici sexti quarto cuius animae " p. pitietur deus." Translation:—" Here lieth Sir Thomas le Strange, Knight, sometime Constable of the King in Ireland, who died . . . on the third day of May in the year of our Lord, 1426, and the fourth of the reign of Henry VI.; to whose soul God be merciful." At the corners of the tomb are four shields, two of which bear the arms of le Strange.

At HAMPTON-IN-ARDEN is the brass of a civilian in the costume of latter end of 15th or beginning of 16th century. He is clad in long robe trimmed with fur at the wrists and collar: the sleeves are loose, the robe confined at the waist by a girdle, from which is suspended the gypcière or pouch, and on the right side a rosary. I find that the rosary worn by men had rarely more than one decade of beads, which is the case in this instance. His head is covered with long hair; the shoes are distinct from the hose. It is not known whom this brass represents.

There is alongside the figure of the man the matrix of a brass presumably that of his wife. In the Gough collection is a drawing of the brass, "man" only.

Dugdale mentions a brass, with portraiture of a man and his wife, commemorating Richard Brookes, bailiff of Hampton-in-Arden, with this verse upon it :—

" Man it behoves thee oft to have in mind
" That thou dealest with thy hand that shalt thou find,
" Children bin slothful, and wyffes bin unkind,
" Exors bin covetous and keep all that they find."

The whole of this verse (said by Weever, in his "Ancient Funeral Monuments," to be in the Church of S. Edmund, Lombard Street, London) is as under :—

" Man the behoveth oft to haue yis in mind
" Yat thow geueth wyth yin hond yat sall thow fynd
" For widowes be sloful, and chyldren beth unkind
" Executors beth couetos and kep al yat yey fynd
" If enybody esk wher the deddys goodys becam
" Yey ansquer
" So God me help and halidam he died a poor man
" Tink
" on yis."

There is some doubt as to whom the brass at WHITNASH represents, insomuch that Dugdale does not mention it. The original inscription is lost. One Benedict Medley purchased the Manor of Whitnash from Sir Henry Willoughby, May 12th 14.H.7., 1499. Arms "sable tuo bars gemellée ar, on a chief of the second three mullets of the first." Haines considers it the work of a local artist. The figures are in the ordinary costume of the period, the man is clad in a fur-lined gown with wide sleeves, and has very long hair ; the lady wears the pedimental head-dress, and a girdle, one end of which reaches to the ground. Too much praise cannot be given to those who have taken care of this brass as the following inscription, placed below the figures, states :—" The above figures of " Benedict Medley and his wife were fixed here at the restoration of the Church " in 1856. He was Clerk of the Signet to King Henry VII., and Lord of this " Manor. He died A.D. 1504, and was buried with his wife in this Church."

At WOOTTON WAWEN is the brass of John Harewell, Esq., and his wife, Anna, widow of Sir Edward Grey, with five sons and five daughters. Considerable difference is to be found in the style of the armour, and also I think in the style of workmanship. I find that about this period, the beginning of the sixteenth century, brasses were coming much more into general use,

especially amongst those holding or having held office under Henry V., and judging from the great resemblance among the various brasses and drawings which I have examined, I should think that they are all referable to a particular school of artists. For the first quarter of the sixteenth century a great quantity of the military brasses have the same characteristics, notably the great length of the lower limbs. I have noticed several which, if the design continued in the same proportion, must have resulted in a very tall figure. The armour consists of a hauberk or shirt of mail which is visible round the neck and also below the taces, which are now made to resemble a skirt affixed to the breast and back plates, from which depend three tuilletes or guards for the thighs, attached by small hinges. Another very noticeable feature is the immense size of the genouillières, or knee caps. You will likewise notice the pass guards attached to the pauldrons, and especially the one on the left shoulder which would be most exposed to blows from the sword. The baldric or sword-belt is worn diagonally, whilst the sword itself is behind the wearer. The hair is worn very long. On brasses of this class I have not noticed either helmets or gauntlets. The lady is habited in a long robe enveloping her feet, and with wide open sleeves, beneath which are to be seen the close-fitting cuffs of an under garment. She wears the pedimental head-dress, and a girdle with the three rosettes and chain which at the period were fashionable. The pomander attached to the chain is especially fine. The children are represented on plates at the feet of the effigies. At each corner of the slab is a shield of arms, that on the dexter side being a punning allusion to the name Harewell. The inscription is as follows :—" Hic jacet Johēs Harewell Armig. et dna Anna quondam uxor
" euis Ac nuper uxor Edwardi Grey militis qui
" quidem Johannes obiit X die aprilis Anni dni m v^c v^o Et que quidm Anna
" obiit die A^o dni m v^c quom aiabus ppicietur deus."

Translation :—" Here lieth John Harewell, gentleman, and mistress Anna sometime his wife, and late the wife of Sir Edward Grey, Knight, which John died the 10th day of April A.D. 1505, and which Anna died the day A.D. 15 , to whose souls God be merciful."

As to the fair monument erected by Sir George Throckmorton, Knight, at COUGHTON I quote from "Churches of Warwickshire." The marble slab which covers the tomb is 9ft. 2in. by 4ft. 2in. ; on this are the effigies of the Knight and his lady, with small effigies of a fair and numerous offspring. The Knight is represented in armour ; he is bareheaded, and his head reposes on a tilting helm surmounted by crest, "an elephant's head." His armour consists of a gorget of plate, below which appears a cuirass, with an additional escalloped breast-plate in front, on the right side of which is screwed the lance rest. The shoulders are protected by pauldrons with pass-guards, that on one shoulder differing from the other. The upper arms are protected by epaulières

and rerebraces, the bends at the elbows by heart-shaped coudières, the lower arms by vambraces; the hands are bare. The thighs are protected by tassets, the lower limbs by cuisses, genouillières, and jambs, the feet in round-toed sabbatons. The handle of sword on left side is suspended from a belt; on the right side is seen pomel of dagger. Beneath this effigy is a separate brass containing a representation of eight male children. Over the Knight are the arms of Throckmorton. On the right of the effigy of the Knight is that of Dame Catherine his wife. She wears the pedimental head-dress, and a high-bodied gown with full skirt. From the waist band is suspended a twisted cord and pomander. Over the gown is worn a mantle. Beneath on a single brass are representations of eleven female children, making in all nineteen children, or as they are called, "a fair and numerous offspring." Beneath is a shield with arms of Throckmorton impaling Vaux. The inscription is as follows:—"Of "your charite pray for the soul of Sir George Throckmorton and Dame "Katherine his wife one of the daughters of Sir Nicholas Vaux Knight Lord of "Harroden which Sir George deceased the day of in the year of the "incarnation of our Lord God 15 and Dame Katherine died the day " 15 on whose souls God have mercy."

COMPTON VERNEY in Dugdale's time was called Compton Murdak, from the Murdac family, who held it from the Earl of Warwick in Henry I. time by service of one Knight fee; but in the 20th of Henry VI. (1442) it was in possession of Richard Verney, Esq., afterwards Knight, whose daughter was Anne, wife of Master Edward Odynsale, of Long Itchington, of a Flemish family, who had held the manor in John's time; he had issue Edward, son and heir, who died about 1558, leaving John, his son and heir, about thirty years of age. Hear what Dugdale says of him:—"Who about the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time betaking himself to extravagant courses put a period to this ancient and flourishing family, and died in a miserable condition for having first mortgaged this lordship to Sir John Throckmorton, he became so poor that had not one Harewood formerly his servant taken him into his house out of pity he had died in the streets." I quote this as much more redounding to the honour of the servant than the master.

There is nothing particular in this costume; the head-dress is a wimple, over which is a kerchief. Her husband's arms, "ar, on a fess sa, between three mullets gu, as many escallops or," are gone: as also are the emblems of three of the Evangelists, which were there when Dugdale wrote.

The inscription is:—

"Off yeor charite pray for the sole off anne adyngsa
"off mayster Edward odyngsale off Longe ygyngeton
"dogter of m Rycharde Verney esquyer ye whyche deptyde
"ye yere of o^r^ lorde mcccccxxiij o whose sole Ihu have mcy."

We have next the brass of George Verney, Esq. (1574), who married Jane, daughter of William Lucy, of Charlecote. The most noticeable thing in the change of armour in this brass is the absence of the skirt of mail, and the introduction of trunk hose, of which we have before had no example. The tuilles or tassets protecting the thighs are attached to the breast-plate by small straps. If I may be pardoned the expression, the armour of this brass seems more of a domestic than warlike character. The introduction of the large falling collar confirms that idea. There is a good shield of arms of Verney and Lucy quarterings; at the foot of the figure is this inscription:—"Here lies "George Verney of Compton Esqre son of Sir Richard Verney, Knight, and "husband of Jane the daughter of William Lucy of Charlecote Esqre by whom "he had one sonne and fower daughters. He died the 8th of April Anno Dni "1574." There can be no doubt, judging by the long curling hair, and general cavalier style of this brass, that Haines is right in assigning its production to the 17th century some fifty or sixty years after George Verney's death.

At ASTON is the brass of Thomas Holte, Esq., late Justice of North Wales, Lord of Aston, 1545, and Margaret his wife, with one son and two daughters. This brass, which is laid in the floor, contains portraitures of himself and wife. Over their heads in a shield, Holte impaling Willington, beneath the figures is the following:—

"Thomas Holte here lieth in grave
"Jesu for thine passion
"On him thou have compassion,
"And his soolle do save."

The whole is enclosed in a border with emblems of the Evangelists at the corners, with this inscription:—"Of your charitye praye for the sooles of Thomas "Holte Esqre late justice of N. Wales and lord of this town of Aston, and "Margery his wife which Thomas deceased the 23rd day of March A.D. 1545 whose "sooles God pardon." The justice is clad in a long gown reaching to the feet, but permitting the broad-toed shoes to appear. A tunic is thrown over the shoulders, one portion being gathered over the left arm and falling in front, on the other side it is thrown back so as to show the ample sleeve on the right arm, and the gypcière which is hung at his belt. His hands are raised in prayer, the right holding a scroll. The head is gone. The lady wears the angular head-dress with lappets, a high bodice, bishop's sleeves terminating with cuffs, and round her waist is a cincture with knot at the front of the stomacher. (Davidson's "Holtes.")

In Dugdale's time there was also in the chancel of Aston Church a handsome brass, with the following inscription on a border with emblems of the Evangelists at the corners:—"Of your charity pray for the souls of Walter "Arderne, and Elianore, daughter of John Hampden of Hampden C° Bucks,

"his wife, the which Walter deceased the fifth day of August in the year of "our Lord God 1502, on whose souls Almighty Jesu have mercy. Amen." This surrounded the figures of a knight and lady, with seven children at foot of the Knight, the brass at the foot of the lady being lost; both figures had armorial bearings on surcoat and cloak.

Dugdale says: "Upon a marble tombstone in the body of the Church (at Solihull) are portraitures in brass with this inscription":—

"Of yō charite pray for the sollys of William Hyll gētilman and for
"Isabell and Agnes hys wyffys wich William decessed the vi day of
"december in the yere of our lorde god A. MCCCCCXLIX on whose
"sole Ihū have mercy. amen."

Haines says: "William Hyll gent. 1549 and wives Isabel and Agnes with sons and eleven daughter peculiar."

This brass is supposed to be the work of a local artist, from its general style, such as the great length of the dress, which is found in this and neighbouring counties at this period; also in the peculiar large puffed or slashed sleeves. The costume of both ladies is much alike. The husband is clothed in a loose fur-lined gown, over a closer fitting garment, which is fastened underneath the chin by a button. He wears a gypcière on his left side, an unusual position. The children instead of being arranged in two groups under their respective mothers, are represented in three masses, making it somewhat difficult to ascertain their maternity.

It is not surprising that in a Church of such importance as that at Solihull, we should find two brasses and have to lament one gone. The brass of William Hawes appears to have formed part of a much larger memorial. I find that at the east end of the north aisle, on a tablet of wood, is painted the following: Between two trees, the one bearing hips and the other haws, with the same arms which are depicted on the brass, there was a Latin acrostic of Gulielmus Hawes, and a long English verse enumerating the many excellencies of the deceased. The brass represents the husband and wife kneeling at a desk with four sons and four daughters, with armorial bearings of Hawes and Colles; also a peculiar double-rayed nimbus, enclosing the words "Jehovah God," and these inscriptions:—

"William Hawes aetatis 80.
"Vrsula Coles aetatis 70.
"1610."

The husband is dressed in a similar gown to that of the civilian at Barton; the lady wears a Paris hood, ruff, and ordinary gown with pointed stomacher. The sons wear doublets beneath their gowns, and trunk

hose. The daughters have no head covering. The inscription beneath the figures is :—

" Here Willm Hawes and Vrsula his wife
" Ther bodies lie ther soules wth Christ in life
" Whose Holy Spirit did so direct ther wayes
" That in his feare they lived to aged dayes
" In endless joye they now wth Christ remaine
" By whose blood all salvation doe obtaine."

This brass is not mentioned by Haines. The arms of Colles are now borne by the family of Collis, Worcestershire.

At EXHALL " Here lieth buried the bodies of John Walshingham late of " Exhall in County of Warwick Esquire and Eleanor his wife one of the " daughters of Humphrey Ashefield late of Heythrop in the County of Oxford " Esquire the same John deceased the 20th day of January 1566 and the said " Eleanor deceased the . . . . . ."

So far for John Walshingham and wife ; but it is by no means clear to whom the effigies belong, if for themselves they must have been engraved from memory, as the costume, at least of the man, is quite twenty-five or thirty years later than the date upon the brass. Notice the length of the breastplate and its projection at the lower part. The taces are superseded by the length of the tuilles which are now strapped round the thighs. Note the different manner in which the sword-belt is treated, also the hilt-guard to the sword, the frill round the neck, and the peaked beard. The whole appearance of the effigies points to the days of Charles I., and the brass may be compared with that at Compton Verney, 1574. The lady's dress calls for no particular remark excepting for its richness. Dugdale only mentions the inscription. Above the figures are these arms :—Walsingham Quarterly " 1 and 4 paly of 6 arg and sa., a fesse gules ; ' 2 and 3 gules a cross coupée compony arg and az., between 16 bezants " Ashefield : arg. a trefoil slipped sa., between 3 mullets gules."

There is a mural brass now preserved in an oak frame, and fastened against the vestry wall at WIXFORD. The inscription says :—

" Here lyeth the bodie of Rise Grif-
" fyn, fourth son of Rise Griffyn of
" Brome in ye covntie of Warwicke Esqu
" ier, he deceased daye of
" And being in his infancye, being but
" three quarters old Anno Dni 1597."

The Griffyns seem to have belonged to Dingley and Weston Favell, in Northamptonshire, but they also held land at Burnell's Brome in this county. " Beggarly Brome " it will be remembered is associated with " Papist Wixford "

in the rhyme attributed to Shakespeare. At the top of the plate is a shield of twelve quarters the first being "sa., a griffin segreant ar.," for Griffyn. Below this, and separated from it by a line of scroll-work, is engraved an arch supported on two pillars. Beneath this at a prayer-desk kneels Rise Griffyn, dressed in a loose gown with a falling collar. The figure represents a boy very much older than the deceased.

In St. Mary's, WARWICK, are the brass effigies of Thomas Oken and Joan his wife, which were rescued from the fire in 1694. He is represented as bare-headed with moustachios, and long beard. He is clad in a doublet and civic gown faced with fur, with long sleeves, through the upper part of which the arms are thrust. The lady wears a high-bodied gown with turned-down collar, and sleeves full at the shoulders, shoes broad at toes, and a plain cap. The inscription is remarkable for the period:—"Of your charity give thanks "for the souls of Thomas Oken and Jone his wyff on whose souls Jesus hath "mercy. Jesus hath mercy. Amen. Remember the charity for the pore for ever. A.D. 1573." After the fire, when the monument was fixed in its present position, an inscription was added stating that it was re-erected and dedicated by the Mayor and Aldermen of this Borough. In "Historic Warwickshire" Mr. J. T. Burgess gives the story of the dream by which Thomas Oken was moved to charitable deeds, and in which he had a vision of this monumental brass.

At CHADSHUNT is the brass of William Askell, civilian, 1613. This brass is not mentioned by Haines. It consists of two plates set in a mural tablet, 1ft. 9in. square, with a moulded border, and is over a pew on the south side of the nave. The upper plate is 1ft. 4in. by 5in., and bears this inscription:—

"Here lyeth the body of William
"Askell of Geydon Gent: who de
"ceased the VI. of Febrvarie Anno
"Dni 1613. Aetatis svae XLVIII.

Beneath this is a plate about 1ft. by 11½in., having its upper corners moulded off. Upon it is engraved the figure of a civilian, very similar to that at Barton described before. In the present instance the hair is longer, the sleeves of the gown a little shorter, and those of the doublet have cuffs. William Askell is kneeling on a tiled floor, his knees resting on a tasselled cushion. Before him is a prayer desk or small table covered with a fringed cloth, upon which rests a book-desk bearing an open book. The present writer is indebted to the Rev. C. Francis, Rector of Tysoe, for information of the existence of this brass, a further account of which will be found in the "Midland Antiquary," April, 1885, "Midland Naturalist," March, 1886.

At Trinity Church, COVENTRY (Haines wrongly says St. Michael's), is the brass of John Whitehead, the Mayor, and his two wives; the first with one son and three daughters, the second with three sons and two daughters, date

1600. He was the 253rd Mayor of Coventry, and died during his year of office. He is clad in the robe of a Mayor, which adds considerably to his width. Judging from the arms he was a member of the Mercers' Company. The arms of Coventry are in the dexter corner. The effigies of the children are much more natural than generally depicted. One of the wives wears a tall hat with a much-curved brim. There are ten elegiac verses setting forth the virtues of the deceased.

At HASELEY is the brass of Clement Throckmorton, wife, and thirteen children. This is in every respect a notable brass, representing a splendid example of the armour of its date, 1573. The effigy represents the man bare-headed, with close-cropped hair, beard, &c., with the tilting helm under his head. Round his neck is the gorget, above which appears a ruff. Of the corslet in which the body is encased the breastplate only is apparent; the shoulders and arms are protected by pauldrons, rere and vambraces, the hands being bare and in attitude of prayer. Below the breastplate appears the hawberk of mail; in front of the thighs are square-shaped tuilles; cuisses, genouillières, and jambs protect the thighs, knees, and legs. The feet are encased in sabbatons, to the heels of which are rowelled spurs. The sword is suspended from the left side by a belt. crossing transversely over the hips, whilst to the right side a dagger is attached The lady is attired in a high-bodied and close-fitting gown, with a standing collar open in front of the neck, and light sleeves. Below the waist the skirt opens in front to display the brocaded petticoat. On the head is worn a close-fitting bonnet; a breviary is suspended at the waist. Under the male figure are six male children, under the lady seven female children. Inscription:—
"Here lieth the body of Clement Throckmorton Esquier the third sonne of Sir
"George Throckmorton Kn't and Katherine Nevell his wyffe the first and eldest
"daughter of Sir Edward Nevell Kn't of whom he begate syx sons and seven
"daughters. He departed this world the Sondaye beinge the 14th of December
"in the yere of our Lorde God 1573 and in the syxtene yere of our most
"gracious sufferaigne ladye queene Elizabeth." The escutcheon of the lady has been re-laid upside down. I believe this is the only known instance in this county of a brass termed a palimpsest, *i.e.*, one that has been used on both sides. There are three classes of palimpsests. First, a later figure on reverse of original; second, an earlier figure altered and appropriated to a person of later date and costume; third, original figure left, but fresh inscription, shield, &c. The present is an instance of the first-named, the palimpsest portions being a group of children, upon a plate having its underside engraved with part of a canopy, and a portion of the inscription engraved upon a strip which bears what seems to be part of a figure.

At SUTTON COLDFIELD is the brass of Jonas Bull, gent. 1621. On a plate at feet of the figure are represented five children by his wife Catherine Walsh,

widow of William Botetier of Tyes, Essex. The figure is clothed in gown of civilian, under which can be seen small clothes of period. The heads on dexter half of shield look much more like donkeys' than bulls' heads.

In addition to the effigies already described there are the following inscriptions in various churches :—

BARCHESTON. The following is upon a plate with these arms :—

Arg. on a chev. between three bugle-horns sa. stringed of the same and garnished or, as many mullets of the last; and beneath them this inscription :—
" Vivit post fvnera virtvs | Exvvias hic deposvit Flamochvs | Colbvrn, filivs
" Johannis Colbvrn, e | nobili familia in agro Warr orivndvs | vir fvit moribvs
" integerrimvs, nec non fide | Theseia qviqve semper in afflictis rei-pvblicae |
" statibvs regiis partibvs constanter adhaeserat, | bellica lavde nvlli secvndvs,
" invictvs Martis | alvmnvs, qui post varios vtrivsq. fortvnæ ca | svs et
" xoptatam Regis et Regni Restavratio | nem 18° die Decemb : Ao. ætat : svæ
" 52 Ao. Dōni 1664 cvm | ingenti omnivm mœrore spiritvm eflavit."

Translation :—

" Worth outlives Death.

" Here are laid the remains of Flammock Colburn, son of John Colburn, sprung from a noble family in the county of Warwick. He was a man of the greatest integrity, and of fidelity like that of Theseus, and one who in the troublous times of the state ever remained a firm adherent of the King's party, in military glory surpassed by none, an undaunted warrior, who after various changes of fortune good and ill, and after the longed-for Restoration of the King and Monarchy, expired on the 18th day of December, A.D. 1664, aged 52, to the intense regret of all."

COVENTRY. At S. Michael's is the following curious inscription :—

" In obitvm Johannis Wightwick optimae spei jvvenis
" Collegij Pembrochiensis socij filij natv minoris
" Johannis Wightwick armigeri hvivs
" Civitatis senescalli qvi obijt
" 19° Mart. 1637, 17 annos
" natvs.
" Ne cives sint vrbe vnivs nominis vna
" Tres, vnvm mortis svstvlit atra manvs.
" Et ne tres vno cognomine nvtriat vnvm
" Caenobivm socios, vnvs ademptvs erat.
" Atq. domo patris ne sint vnivs in vna
" Tres nati, natis e tribvs vnvs obit.
" Hi tres vnvs erant, quodq. est mirabile dictv,
" Vnvs erat major, ivnior et minimvs.

" Major erat civis virtvte minor tamen ortv
" Filivs, et minimvs tempore erat socivs.
" Haec vrbs majorem lvget, genitorq. minorem,
" Gymnasivm ob minimum Pembrochiense gemit.
" Cvr non vota trivm valvere vt viveret illvm,
" Trivni credo perplacvisse deo."

Translation :—

" On the death of John Wightwick, a youth of the greatest promise, fellow of Pembroke College, younger son of John Wightwick, Esq., Sheriff of this City, who died March 19, 1637, aged 17 years.

" Lest there should be three citizens of one name in one city, death's gloomy hand plucked one away. And lest one college should foster three fellows of one surname, one was taken away. And lest there should be three sons in one home of one father, one of the sons died. These three were one, and strange to tell, the one was the greater, the younger, and the youngest. He was the greater citizen in point of worth, but the younger son, and the youngest fellow. This city mourns the greater, the father bewails the younger, Pembroke College laments the youngest. Why did not the prayers of the three prevail that this prodigy should live? I believe that it pleased the Triune God otherwise."

LONG ITCHINGTON. On a large plate with roughly engraved figures of a man and two wives, and also a skull and cross-bones and hour-glass, is the following inscription :—

" Behold the charity of John Bosworth of Yardley in the covnty | of
" Worcester Yeoman he departed this life the xth of March 167$\frac{4}{5}$ | in the
" lxxxii^d^ yeare of his age he gave by his last will and testament | vnto divers
" trvstees for the vse and benefit of the poore of | the parish of Long Itchington
" in the covnty of Warwick and | theyr svccessors the svmme of xv^l^ iiii^s^ yearly
" for ever to be | payd and issved ovt of one messvage called by the name of |
" Browne scitvate lying in Bicnill alias Bickinhvll in the covnty | of Warwick
" and alsoe one close of land in v parts commonly | knowne by the name of
" Waddice and alsoe one little craft | called Broad Craft and allsoe iiii rvdges of
" arrable land in | a common feild called Ewetree feild lying in Yardley in
" the | covnty of Worcester viz v^l^ iiii^s^ to be bestowed in xii twopenny | wheaten
" loaves every sabbath or Lords day to be sett on the | commvnion table and to
" be distribvted by the chvrchwardens | and overseers of the poore vnto xii
" of the poorest of this parish | viz the other x^l^ to be bestowed for the
" maintaynance of a good & | able schoolmaster to teach the poore of this
" parish sonnes and | davghters to read the grammer & other literatvre & allsoe
" to write | & cast accompt as in my will is more at large expressed |

" All yov that passe mee by
" As yov are now soe once was i
" As I am now soe shall yov bee
" Remember the poore & imitate mee "

SOLIHULL. Upon the west wall of the north transept are the following inscriptions in Roman capitals upon plates of brass :—

(*a*) " Heere lyeth the Body of George | Averell gent : aged 98 yeares bv | " ryed the xxii day of Jvne 1637. Hee | had issve by Anne his wife fovre | " sonnes and three davghters."

(*b*) " Here lyeth the body of Anne Averell | wife of George Averell gent : " aged | 92 yeares, bvried the 9th day of | December 1633."

(*c*) " Here lyeth ye body of Henry Averell | gent sonne of George " Averell gent | who lived a batchelovr & departed | this life ye seventh day of " Novemb | in the year of ovr Lord 1650 | and in the 73d yeare of his age."

(*d*) (In ordinary Roman characters.)

" This stone is not placed here to |
" perpetuate the memory of the Person |
" interred beneath it, but to preserve |
" her Ashes, sacred from violation.
" Therefore
" Good Friend, for JESUS sake forbear
" To dig the Dust inclosed here. 1746."

TANWORTH. This inscription remains, together with a group of children :—

(*a*) " Orate p aiab' Roberti Fulwode Armigeri & Margarete uxoris suae, " Qui q'dē | Robert' fuit excellentissiē doct'nat' sive litterat' in [Communi Lege] " Angliæ et obiit—xxo die mensis Octobris Ao. dni mcccccxxxio cui aīe ppicietur " deus : Amen."

Translation :—

" Pray for the souls of Robert Fulwode Esq. and Margaret his wife. Which Robert was most excellently learned in the Common Law of England, and died on the 22nd day of the month of October A.D. 1531. Whose soul God pardon. Amen."

(*b*) On a quadrangular plate set in an oak frame, with these arms gu a chevron, betw. three cinque foils or. Crest, out of a chaplet of roses gu leaved vert, a greyhound's head ar, round the neck a belt az, buckled and studded or, from the belt in front a chain and ring of the last, is the following inscription :—

" M. S. A. C.

" Juxta hunc locum jacet humatum exspectans iustorum resurrectionem " Corpus Annae uxoris | amantissimae Johannis Chambers de Woodend hujus " parochiae generosi quae obiit in Domino | 15° die February 1650 annoque

"aetatis suae 36° unica existans filia et haeres Edwardi | Baylyes nuper de "Haselor tres filios (scīlt) Willūm Edmund et Johem Chambers | unamq. filiam "nomine Elizabēth post se ex eodem marito reliquit.

"Siste pedem, quaeso, cujus cinis estque requiras :
"Hic pietas virtus forma pudorque jacet.
"Virgo pudica fuit, pia conjux, almaque mater
"Quae multo fletu conditur hoc tumulo.
"Digna quidem vixisse diu florentibus annis
"Ablata est generis spesque decus que sui.
"Nondum terdeno cum quinis vixerat annos
"Parca ferox ultra cum superesse negat.
"Nil pietas virtus possunt nil forma pudorque
"Nil juventa potest : mors rapit omne cito.
"Et nunc Anna vale tu terque quaterque beata es
"Vivere cui Christo Contigit atque mori.
"J. C. composuit
"E. C. sculpsit
"W. C. dedit."

Translation :—

"Sacred to the memory of Anne Chambers. Near this place lies interred awaiting the resurrection of the just, the body of Anne, the dearly beloved wife of John Chambers of Woodend in this parish, Gent., who departed in the Lord the 15th of Feb., 1650, in the 35° year of her age, being the sole surviving daughter and heiress of Edward Baylyes of Haselor. She left three sons, viz., William, Edmund, and John Chambers, and one daughter, Elizabeth, by the same husband."

"Stay thy foot, I pray, and ask whose ashes these are. Here lieth affection, virtue, beauty, and modesty. She was a modest maiden, an affectionate wife, a fostering mother, who, 'mid much sorrow is buried in this tomb. Worthy indeed to have lived to a ripe old age, she was carried off, the hope and pride of her race. Scarce had she lived thirty-five years when savage Fate forbade her longer to survive. Affection, virtue, beauty, modesty, youth are of no avail—death quickly snatches all things. And now Anna farewell—thou art thrice and four times blessed whose hap it was to live and die in Christ.

J. Chambers composed this
E. Chambers engraved it
W. Chambers presented it."

(*c*) There is a similar plate in an oak frame to Margaret the wife of Edmund Chambers, of Studley, who died 16th May, 1666. Eight Latin elegiacs.

(*d*) A similar plate in memory of John Chambers, 1670. Six Latin elegiacs.

WARWICK, S. Mary's.

(*a*) An inscription in Roman capitals—

"An epitaphe vpon the death of Mres. Elizabeth | Chowne
"Who died the last day of August 1597.
"Here lies Elizabeth, twice happie wife
"Of two good virtvovs men, blest from above ;
"With both & without both, a godly life
"Till seaventie five she lived in perfect love.
"Resting a widdow eyght and twentie yeares
"Joyeng to see Hir dearest issve wed.
"Before hir God in glory shee appeares
"Hir corps feede wormes, hir sowle by Christ is fed
"Anno aetatis svae 75°."

(*b*) Memoriae sacrum—

"Ceciliae Puckering filiae natv | Secundae Thomae
"Puckering | militis et Baronetti quae | Xto
"desponsata obiit 9° die | Aprilis Anno Dni. 1636 |
"Ætatisq Svae 13°
"Anagram^m^a
"Mistres Cisseley Puckering
"I sleep secure Christ's my king
"Death's terrors nought affright me nor his sting
"I sleep secure for Christ's my Sovereigne king.

Epitaphium—

"Birth breeding beauty grace & carriage sweet
"In thee deare saint did all togither meet
"The Sunne nere saw a comelier face than thine
"Nor Heaven received a spirit more Divine.
"Thrice happy parents such a child to breed
"Begott agayn of God's immortall seed.
"Cease sorrowing then sith saints and angels sing
"To see her matched with an eternal king."

Translation of the Latin—

"Sacred to memory. Cicely Puckering, second daughter of Thomas Puckering, Knight and Baronet, who, espoused to Christ, died the 9th day of April, 1636, aged 13."

(*c*) "Memoriae sacrum Thome | Rovs filii Natv qvarti Thome | Rovs de "Rovslench in comi- | tatv Wigornie Barronetti qvi primis | annis aetatis svae "obiit | nono die Septembris Anno Dni. 1645."

Translation—"Sacred to the memory of Thomas Rous, 4th son of Thomas Rous of Rouslench, in the County of Worcester, Baronet, who died in his infancy on the 9th of Sept., 1645."

WESTON-UNDER-WETHERLEY.

(*a*) In the chancel; a small brass plate, once accompanied by an effigy and shields of arms:—

"Here lyeth Anne danet wyf of Gerard danet Gentilman | doughter and "oon of the heires of John huggessford lord of | Edmondescote Wolffrichston "and merston Wapenburg Wolstorp | and Eythorp in the Counties of Warr' & "leyscet' whyche Anne | decefsed the xviii day of August the yere of o^r lord "god m° | cccclxxxxvij on whose sowle Ihu have mcy amen."

In the north aisle is—

(*b*) A large brass plate in moulded Purbeck panel. At the head of the plate are engraved shields of arms of Saunders, Englefeld, Throkmorton, and Danvers. Beneath is this inscription:—

"Margerie Savnders artvs svnt morte solvti
"Perpetva fælix mens reqviete jacet.
"Donec enim vixit caelestia semper amabat
"Assidva venerans religione devm.
"Coivgis Edwardi casto flagravit amore
"Prefvit et magna cvm ratione domi.
"Morbvs et exhavstvm corpvs cvm frangere cæpit
"Ad dominvm ivnctas svstvlit illa manvs.
"Inde crvcis Christi symvlachrvm laeta poposcit
"Hoc ocvlis animo sensibvs aegra notat.
"Hic neqvit evelli mens in meditando trivmphaṅs,
"Atqve svvm colvit non saciata devm.
"Egregiam vitam mors est prædara secvta
"Margerie fœlix vitaqve morsqve fvit."

"Here Margery Savnders lieth whose mortal lymes ar dede
Bvt to enjoy īmortal rest her sowle to heavē ys fledd.
Whiles lyf did last she was a paterne of good lyfe;
Devowte to God, good to the poore, a chast ād perfit wyf.
A howswyf of great skill, settinge her hole delight
In her jvst love ād wedded mate Sr Edward Savnders Knyght.
For Christ his crose she call'd amiddis the pangis of death
Which she with mynd and ie behelld v̄till her later breath
And so gave vp her gost to God which lyf did lend
Who for her good and worthi lyf gave her a happi end."

"The corps of Dame Margerie Savnders dawghter of Sr Thomas | "Englefelde Knyght ad̄ of Dame Elizabeth his wif one of y^e^ | Davghters "Sr Robert Throgmortō Knight lieth ī this tomb | Whos sovl God pdō. she died "ye 11 of Octobris A° Dn̄i 1563."

(*c*) On the south wall of the chancel is a small brass plate with this inscription to Sir Edw. Saunders' family doctor :—

"Artis Apollīee fueras qui mista Jodoce
"Hev mortis jacvlo victe Tomere jaces
"Cvivs in interitvm tulit hec solatia tristem
"Savdervs vere pignora amicitiae
"Anno Dm̄i 1566 Decembris 22."

"Heare lyeth Joyce Tomer slayne by death
That had of physsicke skyll
Whose losse these comfortes Saunders shewes
As tokens of good wyll."

WOOTTON-WAWEN. Upon the north wall of the chapel, which is now used as a vestry, is a brass plate with the following inscription in Roman capitals :—

"Here lyeth the bodie of Ladye Agnes Smyth | late wife of Sr John Smyth "Knight one of the | Barons of thescheqvier, davghter of John Har | Well Esq. "& one of ye coheires of Thomas Harwell | Esq. her brother wch Agnes Dyed "ye 15th of Febr, 1562."

WHITNASH. Upon a small brass plate :—

(*a*) "This Greenhill Periwigd with Snow
"Was leauild in the Spring :
"This Hill ye Nine & Three did know
"Was sacred to his King.
"But he must downe, although so much divine,
"Before he Rise never to set, but shine.
"Ri. Boles. Mr Art. 1682.
"Nich. Greenhill, M.A.
"Rector 1650."

(*b*) "This mirrour makes me Slight a life half done
"Because a Better comes when this is Fled :
"The Time & Place where I doe live are knowne
"My Death and Grave none knowes but God alone.
"My Death is Certain and Vncertaine ; Then
"Mortalls beware Death comes you know not when.

" I value not a Tombe: Obscure to lie
" With Virtue is an Immortalitie.
" My Life runs on Five yeares beyond Fowr Score
" Once I shall die and then shall die no more.
" Ri. Boles. Ano. Dni. 1689. Ætat. meæ 85."

So far as I know there are only three brasses* in this county not described or alluded to in this paper, viz., those at Shuckburgh, Baddesley Clinton, and Wroxhall. I have no doubt, however, that the perseverance of Mr. Badger will be rewarded by his ultimately obtaining rubbings of these and probably unearthing others.

LIST OF PLATES ACCOMPANYING THIS PAPER.

I. Brass in Sutton Coldfield Church, Barbara Eliot.
II. Brass in Meriden Church, Elizabeth Rotton.
III. Brasses in Baddesley Clinton Hall.
IV. Brass in Coleshill Church, Sir William Abell.
V. Brass in Barcheston Church, Hugh Humfray.

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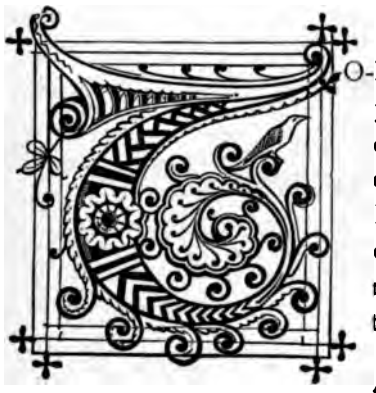
* Descriptions of these brasses will be found in the "Midland Naturalist" for 1886.

The Monumental Brasses of Herefordshire and Worcestershire.

BY CECIL T. DAVIS.

25th November, 1884.



O-NIGHT I have the honour of bringing under your notice those interesting memorials of the departed ones which are known under the name of Monumental, Sepulchral, or Memorial Brasses. I intend to confine my remarks to those brasses on which are engraved figures or portraitures of men, women, or children, that now remain in the counties of Hereford and Worcester.

But we live and move in stern, utilitarian times, and are nothing if not practical; therefore, it may be asked, "What is the use of the collection and description of rubbings "of Monumental Brasses?" The answer may be summed up in brief, thus: "It is one of the best sources from which we can obtain a clear insight into "the costume of past ages." This is well put by the Rev. W. E. Hadow, M.A., vicar of South Cerney, in the following words: "Monumental brasses are "extremely valuable; the herald, the genealogist, the chronologist, the architect, "the artist, the palæographer, and the general antiquary will each and all find "much to interest and instruct them in their several branches of knowledge; "and they furnish us, not only with well-defined ideas of celebrated persons, "but make us acquainted with the manners and customs of their times; while "to history they give a body and a substance, by placing before us those things "which language, with all its power, is deficient in describing."

Before speaking of the brasses in Herefordshire and Worcestershire I wish to give a short account of the history of "rubbing" brasses. It would be quite superfluous on my part, after Mr. Chas. Williams's able paper on the Warwickshire Brasses, to give any information of the brasses themselves; sufficeth it merely to say that Monumental Brasses are plates of brass on which is engraven a representation of the figure of the deceased, and oftentimes with accessories, such as inscriptions, canopies, etc.

Brasses have a great charm to one who is unable to make a measured drawing or even a sketch, for, by means of a sheet of paper securely fixed to the brass and a little heelball, a faithful picture of the wished-for memorial rewards the careful manipulator.

The first person who I have been able to learn made a collection of rubbings of Monumental Brasses was Craven Ord. He and his friends Sir John Cullum and the Rev. Thomas Cole obtained impressions, or, as they termed them, "blackings," of those very fine examples of Monumental Brasses that were found in the eastern counties. Gough used these in collecting materials for his magnificent work on sepulchral monuments. "The mode of operation "devised by Craven Ord and his friends will appear to the collector of present "times a most tedious and troublesome process. Sir J. Cullum gives an "interesting description of the outset of the party on horseback, 'accoutred with "inkpots, flannels, brushes, etc.,' the proceeding being, in fact, a rude and "imperfect attempt to obtain an impression by a process analogous to ordinary "copperplate printing. The brass was covered with printing ink, the surface "cleaned as well as it might be, thick paper previously damped was laid upon "it, and with the flannels and such means of pressure as could be devised, the "action of the rolling press was imperfectly supplied, so that the ink which "filled the incised lines was transferred to the paper. Of course the "impressions, for impressions they were, and not rubbings, were inverted and "many imperfections occurred in parts where the pressure had missed its effect. "These were subsequently made good with the pen and common ink, sometimes "even they were contented to use a very small quantity of printing ink, so that "the whole design, transferred in very faint lines to the paper, was afterwards "worked over with the pen, and a uniform effect produced, but at the expense "of much time and labour." ("Archæological Journal," Vol I., p. 202.)

At the end of "The Bibliographical and Retrospective Miscellany," published by John Wilson in 1830, is a continuation of a catalogue of Books and MSS. sold by Mr. Evans on Monday, Jan. 25, and four following days, 1830. The last item, No. 1102, reads as follows:—

"Monumental Brasses. A most extensive, curious, and highly valuable 'Collection of Impressions from 'Antient Monumental Brasses, taken at the

"expense and generally under the immediate superintendance of Craven Ord, "Esq. In 2 vols., about six feet in height, with a stand to hold them, £43 1s.

"This Collection of Impressions from Antient Monumental Brasses is "most probably matchless. Many of the figures are upwards of Six Feet in "height. The Impressions were taken nearly half a century ago; many of the "brasses must have since been defaced, and others destroyed. The value of the "collection is much enhanced by the greater part of the Impressions being "accompanied by Notices from the pen of Craven Ord, Esq., pointing out "when they were taken. It is to be hoped that this Collection will be secured "and deposited in some public or private collection, to which the Antiquary "may have access. It forms a most valuable supplement to 'Gough's Sepulchral "Brasses.'"

Yet, as may be easily perceived, this was a very primitive way of taking impressions, and it was soon found that if paper were laid on the brass and rubbed with a black substance the lines incised on the brass remained white while the rest was black. Common lead was tried; that proved to be too hard and tore the paper, but the same objection was not to be raised against plumbago, only that rubbings made with this are liable to get blurred like a pencil drawing. Some used the waste pieces of black leather from a shoemaker's shop, but the supply was not always equal to the demand.

Now for ordinary rubbings heelball is of the greatest service, and instead of the small cakes that are supplied to shoemakers I prefer the large cakes made expressly by Messrs. Ullathorne, of Lincoln's Inn Fields, for the "fraternity of brass rubbers." If the brass is much worn it is recommended to use tissue paper and a paste made of black lead and oil.

Antiquarians and others grew very interested in this simple mode of obtaining facsimiles (if they may be so termed) of Monumental Brasses. Between 1830 and 1840 it became fashionable to collect rubbings, and many a drawing room was adorned by these pictures in black and white. For the sake of effect, the rubbings were sometimes made with a bronze composition on black paper.

I deem it not at all foreign to my subject to give a short list of works on Monumental Brasses. In the Reference Department of the Birmingham Free Libraries are the following works:—

BOUTELL (Rev. Chas.) "Monumental Brasses and Slabs: an Historical and Descriptive Notice of the incised Monumental Memorials of the Middle Ages." With 23 full page plates and many engravings on wood, 1847.

BOUTELL (Rev. Chas.) "Monumental Brasses of England," a series of 149 engravings upon wood, from every variety of these interesting and valuable memorials, 1849.

COTMAN (J. S.) "Engravings of Sepulchral Brasses in Norfolk and Suffolk," with letterpress descriptions, and introductory essay by Dawson Turner, and notes by Sir S. R. Meyrick, A. Way, and Sir H. Nicolas. 2 vols. 1839.

DINGLEY (T.) "History from Marble, compiled in the reign of Charles II." Printed in photolithography by Vincent Brooks, with introduction by J. Gough Nichols. Published by the Camden Society. 2 vols. 1867.

DUNKIN (E. H. W.) "Monumental Brasses of Cornwall," 62 plates, with descriptive, genealogical, and heraldic notes. 1882.

HAINES (Rev. H.) "Manual of Monumental Brasses," with descriptive catalogue of 450 rubbings. 1848.

HAINES (Rev. H.) "Manual of Monumental Brasses," comprising an elaborate introduction to their study, and a list of those remaining in the British Isles, with 200 illustrations. 2 vols. 1861.

HUDSON (Franklin). "The Brasses of Northamptonshire." 1853.

KITE (Edward). "The Monumental Brasses of Wiltshire, from the 13th to the 17th centuries," with descriptions. Only 250 copies printed. 1860.

WALLER (J. G. and L. A. B.). "Series of Monumental Brasses from the 13th to the 16th century." 1842, etc.

Besides these books, which are devoted solely to brasses, there are in the Reference Library many works which contain accounts of brasses, *e.g.*, "The Archæological Journal," "The Journal of the British Archæological Association," and "The Archæologia," published by the Society of Antiquaries. Scattered up and down the volumes I have just mentioned are many incidental allusions to brasses, and ofttimes detailed accounts of them. Then there are the antiquarian periodicals, not published by the learned London societies, of which the Reference Library has "The Antiquary," "Antiquarian Magazine and Bibliographer," "Ecclesiologist," "The Archæologist," and "The Reliquary."

Local archæological societies have found in Monumental Brasses a veritable treasure-house of information, and in their transactions are many papers describing them; in the Reference Library may be seen an account of the Brasses of Sussex, in the Sussex Archæological Collections; several papers in the "Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society" are devoted to brasses in that district.

And, lastly, I will draw your attention to the volumes of "The Architect," "British Architect," "Builder," "Building News," "Gentleman's Magazine,"

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* Since this paper was read the following work has been added to the Birmingham Reference Library:—CREENEY (Rev. W. F.) "A Book of Fac-Similes of Monumental Brasses on the Continent of Europe, 1886."

"Notes and Queries," and "Miscellanea Heraldica," which contain many articles on and occasional illustrations of brasses. Then there are various county topographies, *e.g.*, Nash's "Worcestershire," Dugdale's "Warwickshire," Fisher's "Bedfordshire," Bigland's "Gloucestershire," Cussans' "Hertfordshire," Lipscombe's "Bucks," Lysons' "Magna Britannia," Hutchins' "Dorset," Suckling's "Essex," Nichol's "Leicestershire," all of which are lying ready to unfold their treasures to the ardent searcher after information in the Reference Library.

At the Birmingham Library is a copy of "Monumental Brasses, Illustrations of, with Memoirs," published by Cambridge Camden Society; plates of brasses, besides interior and exterior views, fonts, windows, and interior decorations, 1846.

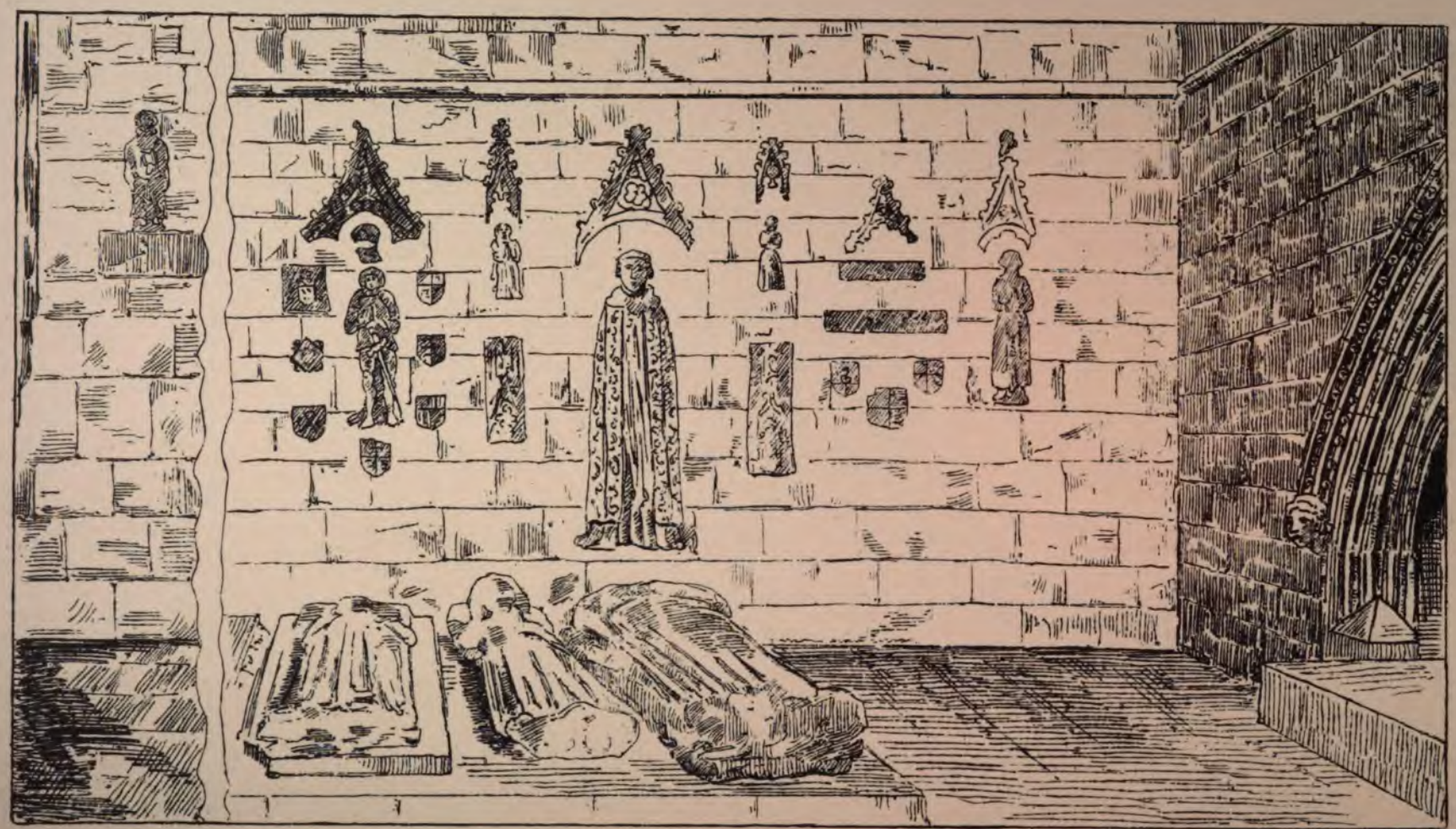
In addition to the books, etc., I have mentioned there are a few other works; *e.g.*, "Colling's Gothic Architecture" contains illustrations of Monumental Brasses. Rev. C. R. Manning and Mr. Justin Simpson issued lists of them.

One great advantage of brasses is their durability, though many have become indistinct, not so much from the ravages of time as from the shameful treatment to which they have been subjected. In many cases the finer lines of the graver's tool have been well-nigh or altogether obliterated by the too zealous wish of those whose duty it is to clean the church to make the brass look bright.

Ere I proceed to describe the rubbings hanging on the walls I wish to call special attention to the fact that, either through neglect, or wanton mischief, or downright theft, brasses to a large number have been lost, mutilated, or destroyed. You need only look around, and each for himself can perceive how the brasses have suffered spoliation; but, worse still, in many instances the brasses have wholly disappeared, and the matrices alone are left to tell the sad story.

In the counties under consideration the place that has suffered the most is Hereford Cathedral. In 1717 brasses to the large number of 180 had disappeared. The old chronicler quaintly records "The brass plates on her "grave stones as usual turned into cannon against their prince." But this was not all, for in 1790 it is reported that two tons weight of Monumental Brasses were sold to a brazier, but the late celebrated antiquary, Mr. Gough, most fortunately recovered and preserved, by affixing to the walls of his printing office, the larger part of them. More of these anon. The late Sir Gilbert Scott writes that in 1854 he found to his disgust that the monumental slabs and effigies at the commencement of Mr. Cottingham's operations in 1849-50 had been stacked up in the chapter-house yard or stowed away in the eastern chapels. A clean sweep, alas!

Brasses were erected to pious memory in the following churches, but sad to relate they have vanished, and in some instances have "left not a wrack behind":—

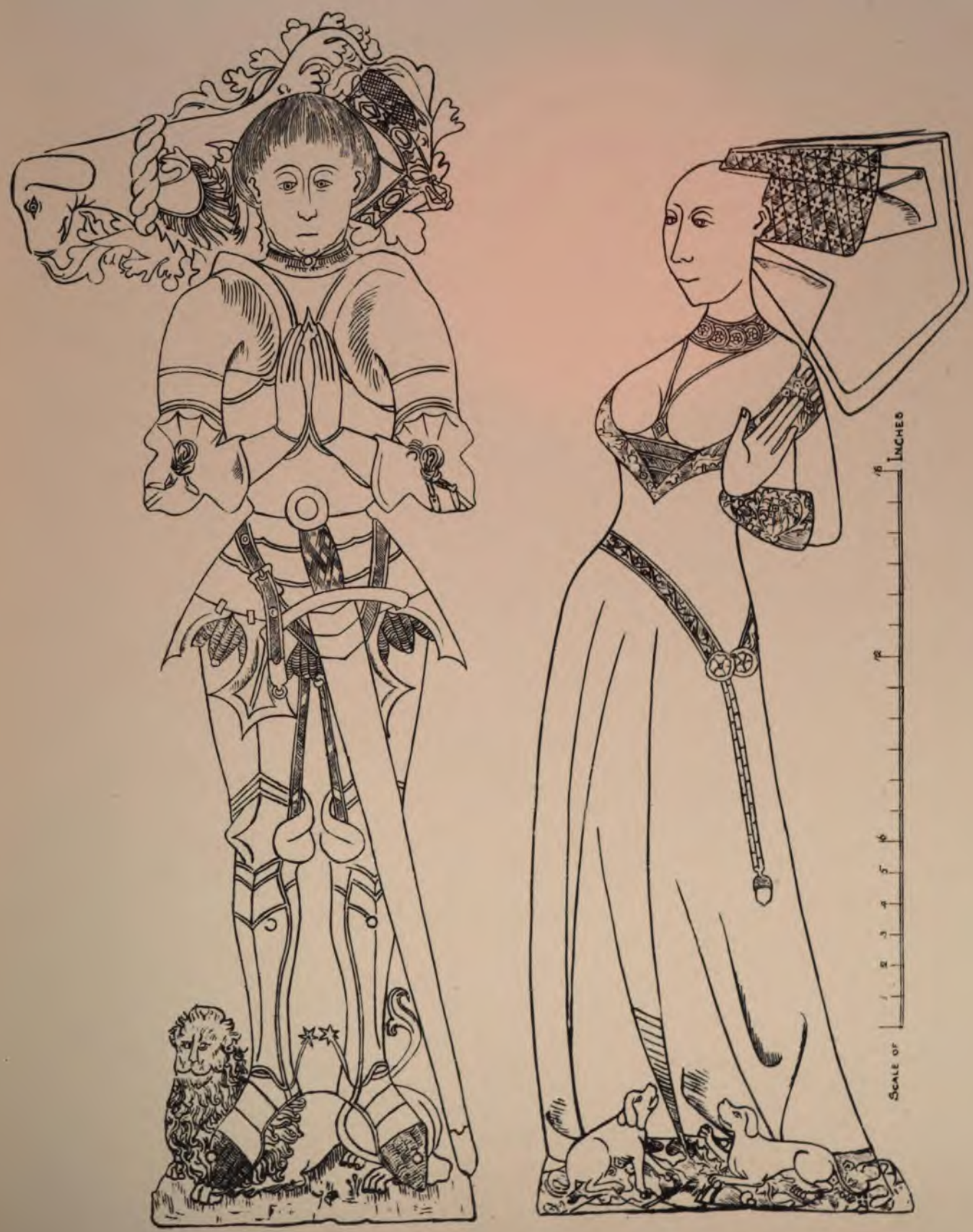


West Wall, North East Transept, Hereford Cathedral.

Plate VI.

ONE OF THE A

West Wall. North East Transept. Hereford Cathedral.



ONE OF THE AUBREY FAMILY CLEHONGER NEAR HEREFORD -

In Herefordshire may be noted Bromyard, Holm Lacy, King's Pion, Sutton St. Nicholas, Westhide, Leominster, and Weobly.

In Worcestershire—Bromsgrove, Birts-Morton, Evesham, Hanley Castle, Ripple, Queenhill, and Stone.

But let us turn from this gloomy side of the picture and see what has been done towards repairing this damage and irreparable loss.

In 1880 Mr. J. T. Mickelthwaite caused to be restored to Colwall Church the brass of Anthony Harford, who died 1590.

The brasses at Clehonger were lying loose in a cupboard when Mr. Haines wrote his valuable manual, but now they have been replaced in the church.

I hold in my hand a sketch (Plate VI.) of the west wall of the north-east transept of Hereford Cathedral, where you will notice are many brasses, chiefly fragments restored on the death of J. B. Nichols, Esq., who had expressed a wish that they should be returned to their original sanctuary.

As far as I can gather information, Monumental Brasses are at the churches in the following list:—

HEREFORDSHIRE.

I.	1282.	Hereford Cathedral.	S. Ethelbert, from Brass of Bp. Thos. Cantilupe.
II.	1360.	„ „	Bp. J. Trilleck, Canopy.
III.	c1386.	„ „	Rich. de la Barr, Priest, in Head of Cross.
IV.	1394.	„ „	Civilian with Dog.
V.	c1410.	Ledbury - -	Sir Wm. Calwe, Priest.
VI.	1421.	Kinnersley - -	Wm. Dermot, Priest.
VII.	1428.	Hereford Cathedral.	Edm. Ryall, Headless.
VIII.	1434.	„ „	(?) Jno. Stanwey, Priest.
IX.	1435.	„ „	Rich. Delamere in Armour, and Wife Isabella.
X.	c1470.	Clehonger - -	— Aubrey in Armour, and Wife. (Plate VII.)
XI.	1476.	Hereford Cathedral.	Rich. Rudhall, Archdeacon.
XII.	1480.	„ „	John Stockton, Mayor.
XIII.	c1480.	„ „	Thos. Chawndeler, Dean.
XIV.	c1480.	„ „	Man in Armour.
XV.	1489.	„ „	(?) Thos. Downe, Canopy only.
XVI.	1490.	Ledbury - -	Thos. Caple in Armour.
XVII.	1492.	Hereford Cathedral.	Rich. Burgehyll.
XVIII.	1506.	Brampton Abbots -	Joan Rudhale.
XIX.	1514.	Hereford Cathedral.	Sir Rich. Delabere in Armour and 2 Wives.
XX.	1516.	„ „	Bp. R. Mayo.

XXI.	1522.	Hereford Cathedral.	Archdeacon Webb, Fragments.
XXII.	1524.	„ „	Wm. Porter, Priest.
XXIII.	1529.	„ „	Edm. Frowsetoure, Dean.
XXIV.	1554.	Ludford - - -	Wm. Fox in Armour, and Wife Jane.
XXV.	1590.	Colwall - - -	Anth. Harford and Wife Elizabeth.
XXVI.	1614.	Ledbury - - -	John Hayward in Armour.
XXVII.	1614.	Marden - - -	Dame Margaret Chute. (Plate VIII.)
XXVIII.	1616.	Burghill - - -	John Awbry.

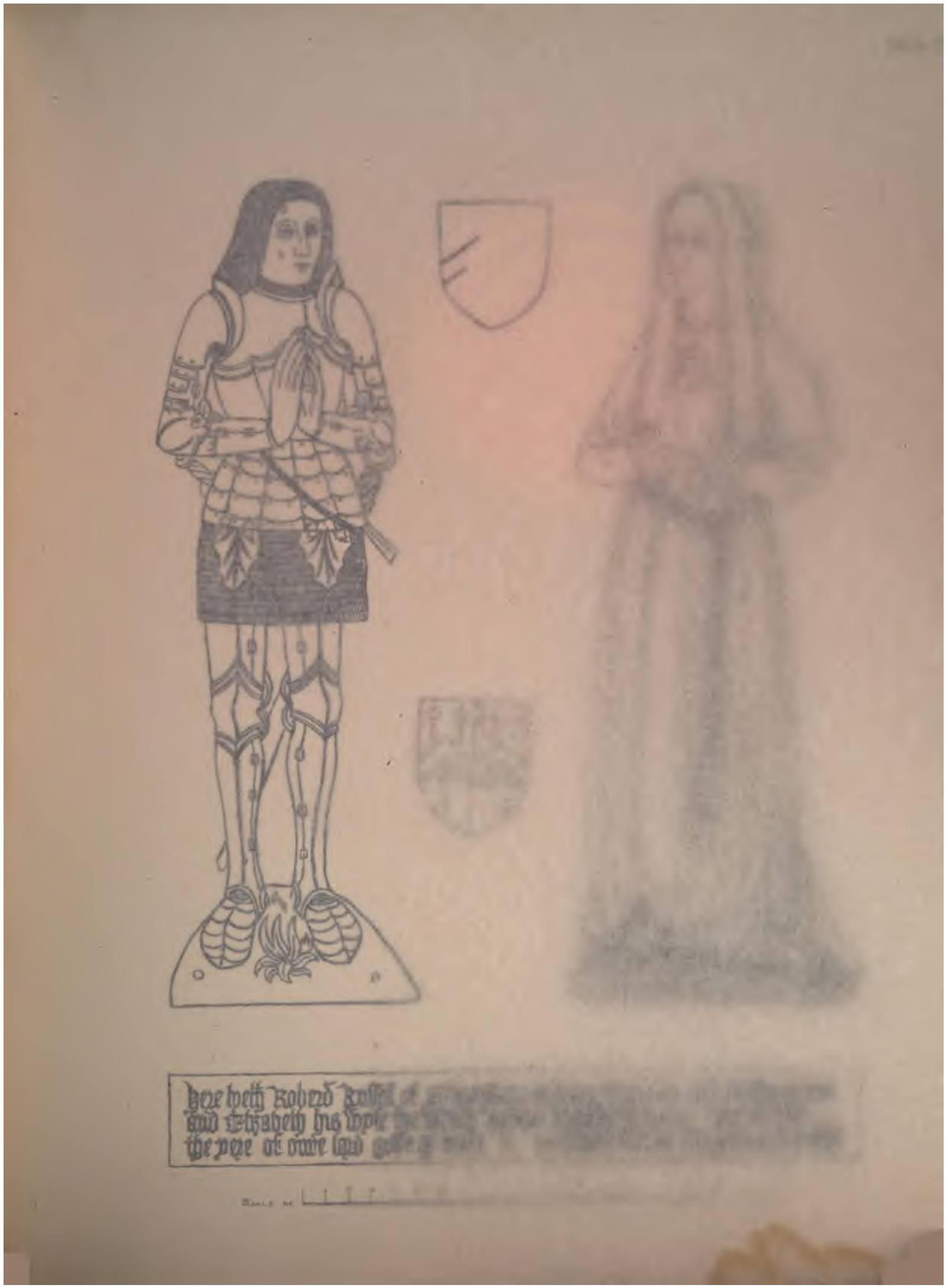
WORCESTERSHIRE.

I.	c1390.	Strensham - -	Robt. Russel in Armour.
II.	1405.	„ - -	Sir John Russell in Armour.
III.	1415.	Kidderminster -	Sir J. Phelip, Walt, Cookesey, both in Armour, and Wife Matilda.
IV.	1427.	Tredington - -	Rich. Cassey, Priest.
V.	1445.	Fladbury - -	J. Throckmorton in Armour, and Wife Alianora.
VI.	1458.	„ - -	Thos. Mordon, LL.B., Priest.
VII.	1482.	Tredington - -	Henry Sampson, Priest.
VIII.	1485.	Blockley - -	Ph. Warthim, M.A., Priest.
IX.	1488.	Fladbury - -	Edw. Peytoo in Armour, and Wife Goditha.
X.	1500.	Bushley - - -	Thos. Payne and Wife Ursula.
XI.	c1500.	Chaddesley Corbett.	Thomas Forest and Wife Marg.
XII.	1502.	Strensham - -	R. Russell in Armour, and Wife Eliz. (Plate IX.)
XIII.	1504.	Fladbury - -	W. Plewme, M.A., Priest.
XIV.	1508.	Stockton - -	Wm. Parker.
XV.	1510.	Blockley - -	Wm. Neele, Priest.
XVI.	c1510.	Mamble - - -	John Blount and Wife Kath.
XVII.	1523.	Longdon - -	Wm. Brugge in Armour, & Wife Alice.
XVIII.	1524.	Alvechurch - -	Ph. Chatwyn in Armour.
XIX.	1561.	Tredington - -	Alice Barnes. (Plate X.)
XX.	1562.	Strensham - -	Sir J. Russel in Armour, & Wife Edethe
XXI.	1572.	Broadway - -	Anth. Daston in Armour. (Plate X.)
XXII.	1598.	Yardley - - -	W. Astell, Civilian, S. Wheeler in Armour, and Wife Isabella.
XXIII.	1606.	Stoke Prior - -	H. Smith.
XXIV.	1609.	„ - -	R. Smith.
XXV.	1617.	Birlingham - -	T. Harewell and Wife Margaret.
XXVI.	1632.	Daylesford - -	W. Gardiner. (Plate XI.)
XXVII.	1650.	Bredon - - -	Bp. Prideaux, Inscription.

DAME MARGARET CHVTE.

The following is the epitaph on a brass plate
the figure :—

"Under this Monument lyeth the Body of Dam
"garet the moste deere wife of Sr George Chut
"Knight and daughter and sole heyre of Thoma
"Welford of Wisteston Esquier deceased whose
"pietie and vertues deserve to survive in the me
"rie of men untill this her bodie shall live again
"reunited to her blessed sowle to live wth her R
"mer for ever. She had by the saide husband
"onelie, Anne and Francis which Francis dyed
"daye of her birth. Her said mother following
"next daye after being the ninth daye of June



Here lyeth Robert Russell of Strynsham Esquyer fundyme lord of this manor
and Elizabeth his wyfe the which Robert decessed the xxiij day of Jun o
the yere of oure lord godde xv cccc li on whose soulys jhu have mercy amen

Scale of 1 2 3 4 5 6 12 18 Inches

The collection forms a huge book of fashion, in which the caprices of that universal tyrant are so distinctively marked as to become strikingly apparent to every eye. Even to childhood these quaint, picturesque, and interesting costumes are most attractive and also suggestive; they delight again and yet again to look at them, and their curiosity is raised to the highest pitch. Their phrenological bump of inquisitiveness prompts these little prattlers to ask endless questions respecting these departed worthies, and sometimes they put forth such posers that it would require all the knowledge of all the schools to fully satisfy their boundless enquiries. These rubbings will also put right one of woman's wrongs. It is the fashion of the sterner sex to tell the fairer portion of our race of the ridiculous, extravagant, and frequent changes in material, style, and shape that fashion demands of her votaries. But these effigies most plainly and decisively show that the costume of the lords of creation has undergone changes greater and more violent than that of the lovelier portion of our race. And it is melancholy to be obliged to add that these changes in male attire have added neither comfort nor beauty to the person. What would our ancestors think and say of the unpoetical chimney-pots that painfully incase our heads? or of the prosaic anti-climax of the swallow-tailed coat? I fear the laugh would be deservedly against us. Well may such an one ask, "Where is the grace, or ease, or "fitness of your apparel?" Have the five hundred years of improvement and of invention been able to produce no better results than these? To such questions the nineteenth century gentleman has no satisfactory reply. Moreover we see from such a collection as this that "fashion has its day;" at one time the gentleman wears ruffs so huge as nearly to conceal his head, at another he is wholly destitute of any covering for his neck. At one time he is so closely shaven that not a vestige of hair is visible on the face, and his hair is closely cropped all over his head; at another his beard, whiskers, and moustache are full and dense, and the hair of his head reaches his shoulders. Sometimes the shoes are a quarter of a yard longer than his feet; and one might go on indefinitely pointing out the vagaries of fashion to which men not devoid of intelligence have submitted; in fact, the changes in man's costume have been indeed great, complete, and thorough. But woman throughout all these changes has for centuries kept her flowing gown, though it has been varied in almost every particular; at one time short-waisted, then long-waisted; bag sleeves, then close-fitting sleeves; short skirts, then long skirts and trains; enormous hoop petticoats, then close-fitting; and so *ad infinitum.*

For the sake of convenience I will take the brasses in groups, viz., I. Ecclesiastics, II. Military, III. Civilian, IV. and lastly, by no means the least important, The Ladies.

The rubbings are arranged in the above groups; in the lists they are in chronological order, but any one may easily be recognised by its number. I

have not been able to rub all the brasses myself, and am indebted to several friends for their kind assistance.

We will now consider the brasses in Herefordshire.

I. ECCLESIASTICAL.

With the Ecclesiastical I have included a very little brass (I. on the list.) This is all that is left of the brass commemorating Bishop Thos. de Cantilupe, who died in 1282. His shrine still exists in Hereford Cathedral and on the slab may be seen the indents or matrices of the brass plates originally therein affixed. The plate of brass of which this is the rubbing fits into an indent on the right side of the head. It represents St. Ethelbert, and the Rev. F. T. Havergal in his "Fasti Herefordenses" states that this mode of representing the saint is unique. The figure is headless, or rather his head is not in its ordinary position, for the saint is holding his crowned head in front in his right hand. His dress is long and flowing. This is rather interesting as it is so early, it being the second earliest example of known date left in England, the one preceding it in point of years being at Stoke d'Abernon, Surrey, 1277. Yet it is the oldest instance of a figure of a saint remaining on a monumental brass, the figures at Higham Ferrers being half a century later.

At the beginning of this century the fragment was *in situ* and in one of the spandrils of the tomb was a fleur-de-lis; the latter disappeared about 1845 and has not been recovered. The former was taken by a chorister in 1819, who, I have heard, took it to Canada, and after keeping it for over forty years, he restored it to the Cathedral authorities, who carefully preserve it with many other rare archæological relics in the canons' vestry.

II.—This is one of the finest brasses in existence, representing the episcopal robes; a drawing of it forms the frontispiece of "Haines's Monumental Brasses," where it is figured in a more perfect state than this rubbing. It very probably was damaged at the opening of the tomb in 1813.

The amice is an oblong piece of linen and should be perfectly plain; it was, however, very early corrupted by the addition of the apparel fastened to one of its edges. The apparel was an embroidered border often adorned with gold, silver, and jewels, sewn on to the edges of different vestments. This name is principally employed in connection with the amice and albe, the term "orphrey" being employed for the similar adornment of the other vestments. The amice can be drawn up over the head like a hood, becoming a symbol of the "helmet of salvation," and from its surrounding the neck it suggests restraint of speech.

Albe (from the Latin *albus*, white), a long close linen vestment, white, reaching to the feet, and with tight sleeves. This is also enriched with apparels on the upper side of the cuffs, and on the edge of the skirt between the feet. It is the symbol of the garment of safety. In the Apocalypse our Saviour and

ounte the bodies of William Barnes of
Wife daughter of Thomas Middelmor
dm Barnes died the viii daye of maye
o 1 and Whiche Alice his wife continu=
ger death died in the year of o' lord
s god have mercye

Anthonij Dalton corpus iacet hic tumulatum
mundi deleuit nunc mundi commoda spernit
Si quis erat prudens virtutum et fidelis amicus
is Daltonus erat tumulo qui clauditur isto
Armiger antiquo dignus de stemate natus
Depellens lites pacis studiosus amator
dives opum referebat opem dum vixit egenis
velle volens cunctis manifestus eratq; benignus
Sex et sex denos vixit non amplius annos
spiritus in xpo iam celica gaudia captat
Obijt xxe die Julij Anno dni. 1572.

A FVL

Anthonius Dalton corpus iacet hic tumulatum
secundum deliberat nunc animam commendat superis
Si quis erat prudens bonorum et fidelis amicus
is Dallonus erat tumulo qui clauditur isto
Armiger antiquo dignus de stirpe natus
Depellens lites pacis fautor amator
dives opum referebat opem dum vixit egenis
velle volens cunctis gratificatus erat; benignus
sic et sic denos vixit non amplius annos
spiritus in xpo iam celica gaudia captat
Obiit xpe die Julii Anno dni. 1572.

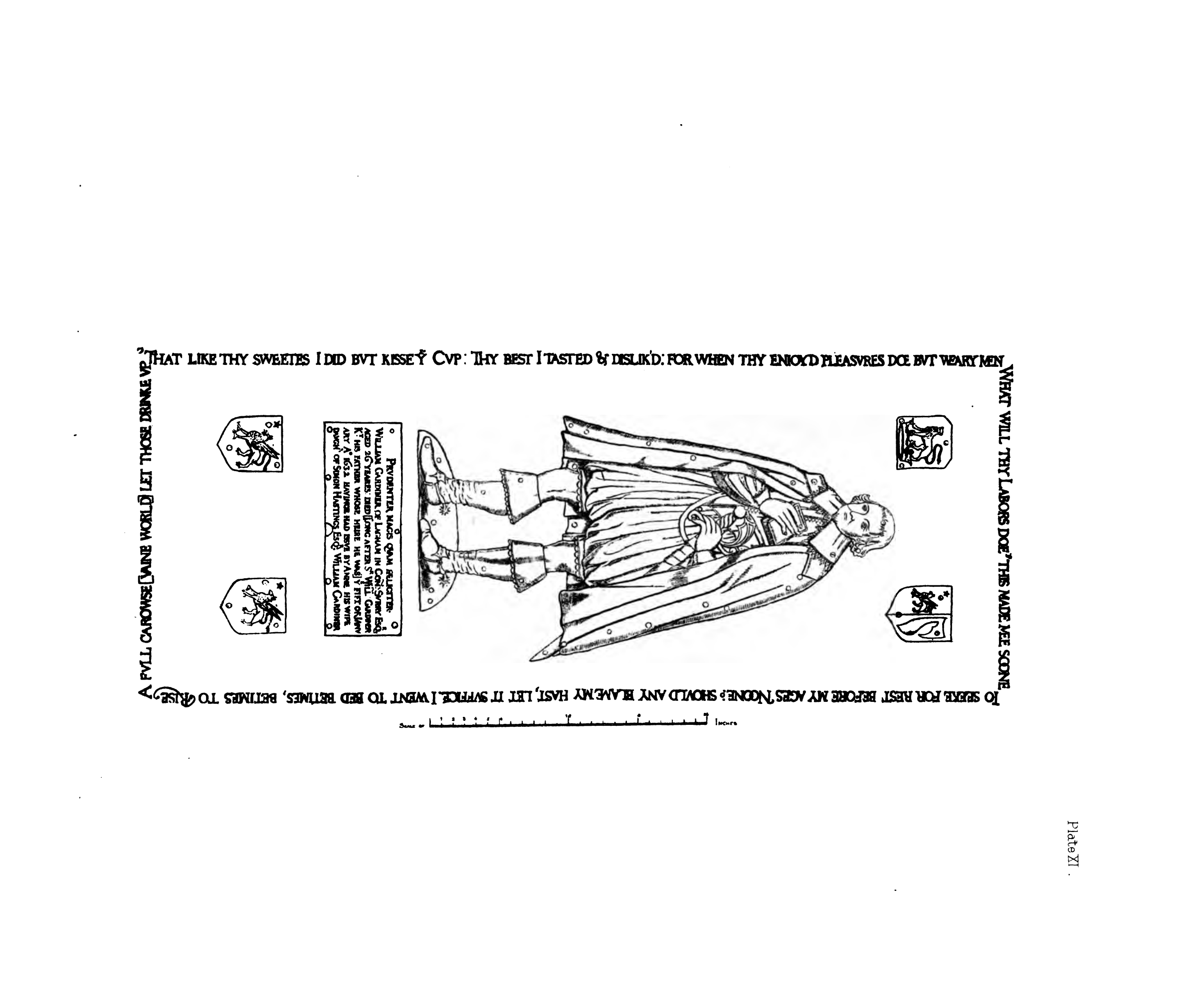

WHAT WILL THY LABORS DOE? THIS MADE MEE SOONE
TO SEEKE FOR REST BEFORE MY AGES NOONE; SHOVLD ANY BLAME MY HAST, LET IT SVFFICE, I WENT TO BED BETIMES, BETIMES TO RISE.
THAT LIKE THY SWEETES I DID BVT KISSE Y CVP: THY BEST I TASTED & DISLIK'D: FOR WHEN THY ENIOY'D PLEASVRES DOE BVT WEARY MEN
A FVLL CAROWSE VAINE WORLD LET THOSE DRINKE VP.
PROVIDENTER MAGIS QVAM FELICITER.
WILLIAM GARDINER OF LAGHAM IN COM: SVRREY ESQ.
AGED 26 YEARES DIED LONG AFTER S^R WILL GARDINER
K^T HIS FATHER WHOSE HEIRE HE WAS Y FIRST OF MANY
ANY A^O 1632 HAVINGE HAD ISSVE BY ANNE HIS WIFE
DAVGH^R OF SIMON HASTINGS ESQ WILLIAM GARDINER
Scale of Inches

Plate XI.

the angels with the seven vials are represented clothed in white linen garments down to the feet. This garment has been copied even by the priests of heathen deities, *e.g.*, at the cutting of the sacred mistletoe from the oak the arch-Druid is said to have been clad in a white robe, and such a white robe "has ever been known in the Christian Church by the name of albe. This, like every other rite and ceremony, has been perverted, and *black* with others are among the things seized in the time of Henry VIII. in Lincoln Cathedral. The priests now in the church of the Madeleine, at Paris, instead of a plain linen albe, wear lace petticoats."—"Principles of Ecclesiastical Building and Ornaments," p. 29.

Maniple, a narrow band of silk or rich stuff decorated with a fringe and embroidery which rendered it unfit for its original use, viz., for wiping the forehead and face. The "Golden Legend" says of St. Peter, "that he bare alway a sudary" to wipe "the teerys yt ranne from his eyen." It usually hangs over the left arm, as here represented, but in Wiltshire, at the village of Long Newnton, is the brass of John Erton, rector, A.D. 1503, and by an unusual arrangement the maniple is represented as hanging from the right arm instead of the left one.

Stole, a long narrow scarf of embroidered silk or other rich material, with fringed extremities. It is worn round the neck, but the chasuble hides all but just the ends; the celebrant always wore it crossed, and it is thus shown on the brass of Henry Martyn, 1435, Upwell, Norfolk. It seems to be the only distinguishing mark of a clergyman now, for laymen during Divine Service may be robed in cassock and surplice, and, if graduates, wear the hood to which they are entitled.

The chasuble (also chesible) was put on over all the vestments, and was worn only at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. It was first made of wool, sometimes of silk, and was originally circular, but it here assumes the shape of a vesica piscis, or pointed oval. It had an aperture in the centre for the head, but none for the arms.

These garments were worn by a priest when about to celebrate the Holy Eucharist.

BISHOP TRILLECK is not wearing a tunic—a close linen robe generally worn by bishops. Below his chasuble is seen the dalmatic; this is partially open at the sides with fringed edges. On his hands are gloves; it may be noticed that nails are not indicated on the hands, and that the wrist of the glove is loose fitting. On the middle finger of the right hand is a jewelled ring, usually made of pure gold. He wears sandals with pointed toes, following the civilian fashion of the period. According to Innocent III., the sandals were emblems of the preparation of the Gospel of Peace. His mitre is double pointed and richly adorned. In his left hand he holds his pastoral staff with the crook turned outwards to show his extended jurisdiction. The knob terminates in a

trefoil, and is similar to a wooden staff discovered in 1813 in the stone coffin in which all that was mortal of Bishop Trilleck was laid ; it is now kept in the canons' vestry.

The face appears to be bare, but the chin on closer examination will be found to be covered with a quantity of dots to represent a stunted or stubbly beard. A little fringe of hair is seen just emerging from under the mitre, but the rest of the hair is longer and brushed back in wavy curls behind his ears.

The Bishop is represented in the act of benediction, holding his staff in his left hand, and with the first and second fingers of his right raised.

V.—SIR WM. CALWE (Ledbury) is shown wearing a cassock, a cape, and a hood. The cassock is long and arranged in folds round the legs. The front of the cape is gathered up by the raising of the arms; the hood falls back from the neck and shows the cassock beneath. His face is clean shaven and the tonsure is clearly shown, while a fringe is worn across the forehead and the hair is allowed to grow rather long behind the ears, and not arranged in a formal or stiff manner.

XI.—ARCHDEACON RUDHALE. We have noticed rubbings of priests in their eucharistic vestments; we now have one habited in processional robes which are a surplice, under which the cassock is visible, the almuce and the cope. The cassock covers the feet, and has close sleeves ; it was generally worn as an under-garment, but at Cirencester, Gloucestershire, a priest (circâ 1480) is represented in it as his ordinary dress. At Cardynham, Cornwall, is a brass commemorating Thomas Awmarle, rector, circâ 1400, who has the tonsure and is vested in a cassock with his anelace by his side: the skirt of the cassock is fastened by pairs of buttons. "The word 'surplice' signifies it was to be worn over the pellicia or pelliceum, which was a robe of fur, necessary in northern countries before the invention of glass to keep out the wind and the rain." The almuce or amess was generally a hood of grey fur, represented on brasses by white metal inlaid; it was somewhat like a stole, but the lower ends are rounded. The cope was semi-circular in form, worn like a cloak, and fastened under the neck by a morse or clasp richly engraved. Both the cope and orphrey are richly embroidered. "The cope is a cloak worn by the episcopate to distinguish "that order from those below it. Many persons besides bishops of churches "were admitted to that rank, such as abbots and canons of cathedrals, till at last "the cope lost all such distinctive appropriation. The rubric of the Church of "England desires to this day all ministers to wear it at the Sacrament, but it is "generally omitted. Its use in Durham Cathedral was continued down to the "end of the last century. The Queen is crowned in a cope, and the Archbishop "of Canterbury and the Dean of Westminster, who officiate at that ceremony "*ex-officio*, both wear one ; but the shape of those worn at the last coronation, as "they appear in the print, was more like that of a woman's apron thrown over "their shoulders than of an ecclesiastical garment."

"The readers of Miss Strickland's 'Queens of England' will not require "me to enlarge upon these superb vestments (in Westminster Abbey), now "dimmed and faded in their splendour by the lapse of nearly two centuries, "since they were made for the coronation of the luckless, and almost brainless, "James II. They are worn at coronations only by the clergy of the abbey, and "we had the pleasure of seeing our reverend guide in his appropriate cope as "sub-dean; the same which he wore when Victoria was crowned, and which has "been worn by his predecessors successively at the coronations of William and "Mary, Queen Anne, the four Georges, and William IV. Similar vestments in "form, though not in splendour, are to this day the rubrical attire of the clergy "of the English Church in celebrating the Holy Communion, but I believe "they are now never used."

"I bore away no remembrance more pleasing than that of the monumental "window and tomb of the late Archbishop Howley (in Canterbury Cathedral), "commemorating, as they do, a most worthy prelate, and marking the great "epoch of a revival of theology, and of practical faith, throughout the Church "of England. This tomb is surmounted by the recumbent effigy of the Bishop, "and presents a most grateful specimen of reviving art. He is habited in his "sacred vestments, to which the addition of the cope gives completeness and "effect; and as the Archbishop wore that vestment at the coronation of Queen "Victoria, there was reality to justify its use." ("Impressions of England," Rev. A. C. Coxe, New York, 1856.)

It is said that when the use of vestments was discouraged, the cope was utilised as a covering for the altar; it would be most interesting to have a list of all such churches where the cope has been or is so used, and I shall be much pleased to receive authentic information respecting this use of the cope.

This brass was originally very elaborate; the archdeacon was under a triple canopy, the side shafts being formed of panels, on which were represented saints, but, alas, they have been scattered, and only fragments of the whole remain.

XX.—BISHOP MAYO. This little brass is by no means in so good a state of preservation as that of Bishop Trilleck already mentioned. But his position being different it shows some part of the vestments hidden on the former. From the mitre is hanging one of the vitta over his left shoulder. The chasuble has an orphrey down the front and round the lower edge. On the backs of his gloves may be seen the cross. The Bishop is represented kneeling, holding a roll and looking towards a representation of the Virgin Mary seated and holding her crucified son on her knees.

XXIII.—DEAN EDMUND FROWSETOURE, 1529. The whole composition measures 8ft. 6in. by 4ft. 4in., and is much worn in places. He wears the processional vestments, and in addition a cap. Wherever ornament could be

introduced the engraver did not fail to use it. The niches of the side shafts are filled with saints, etc. On the right-hand side is a group of the three persons of the Trinity. Below we have St. Ethelbert, not headless as before, but holding a church and a sceptre. St. John, whom, from his flowing hair and holding what appears to me to be the Agnus Dei, I take to be John the Baptist and not John the Evangelist. Lastly, St. Katharine, with her symbol, a wheel. On the left side, St. Thomas or a bishop, St. Peter, and possibly the last is St. Mary. In the central pediment of the triple canopy is the sacred monogram, in the other pediments are the Dean's initials, and you may notice that the capital *F* is made like two small f f, the second f of which merged in time into the bar with which the stem of a capital *F* is crossed to distinguish it from a *T*. The ancient and modern arms of the see, together with the arms of the deanery and his own, grace the top of the canopy. Below the figure are twelve laudatory verses in Latin, and around the whole is an inscription to his memory; at each corner is an evangelistic symbol.

II. MILITARY.

IX.—RICHARD DELAMERE. The effigy is that of a warrior clothed in the characteristic armour of the fifteenth century. He wears a complete panoply of plate armour. He must have presented a most dazzling appearance when clad in his warrior's suit of burnished steel, especially so when it reflected the bright beams of the sun. In fact, the gallant gentlemen of this period were not a little proud of the glittering splendour of their polished armour. His head is covered by a globular bascinet. The clean-shaven face of the knight is unprotected: this was by no means unusual during this period; for the additional safety afforded by the vizor was dispensed with to obtain freedom of breathing as well as to be rid of the stifling heat and weight of the solid steel plate the vizor would entail. A gorget of plate which reaches the bascinet protects the neck and both sides of the face. The body is protected by polished breast and back plates, which open with hinges at the sides; the arms, from the shoulder to the elbow, by brassarts consisting of overlapping plates, which are seen on the right shoulder, and from the elbow to the wrist by vambraces. "The pauldron of the left shoulder is elaborately enlarged and "strengthened to resist a blow, while the right shoulder is more simply and "lightly armed so as to offer as little hindrance as possible to the action of the "sword arm."—"The Knights of the Middle Ages," Rev. E. L. Cutts. The elbows are guarded by small plates, which are termed gardes-de-bras. The gauntlets are not divided into fingers, but are hinged in two places to allow the fingers to be used more freely, and they have plain cuffs. To the cuirass is attached at the waist a skirt of taces, which consist of a series of narrow overhanging plates, fastened to a leather lining. The taces had hinges on their

left side, and were fastened by buckles on the right; here the separate plates of the skirt of taces are notched in the centre, and they are eight in number. As the arms are protected by a system of secondary defences or reinforcing, so are the legs; the thighs are guarded by tuiles (so called because they resemble tiles), which are buckled on to the skirt of taces. A neat little rosette covers the fastening of the two straps to each tuile. The legs are protected by plate armour: under the tuiles may be seen the cuissarts which protect the thighs, and beneath the knees, the jambarts—the knees are guarded by genouillières, while extra pointed plates defend the shins. The feet are in sollerets of overlapping plates; and he wears rowelled spurs. Across the skirt of taces from right to left stretches diagonally a narrow sword belt, to which is attached on the left side the scabbard, ornamented at the top. The sword is long and narrow, with a long curved crossguard.

"A great danger, which will illustrate the impregnability of a knight's "steel castle against all ordinary assaults, is pointed out in a graphic passage of "the 'History of Philip de Comines.' After one of the battles at which he was "himself present, he says, 'We had a great number of stragglers and servants "following us, all of which flocked about the men-of-arms being overthrown, "and slew the most of them. For the greatest part of the said stragglers had "their hatchets in their hands, wherewith they used to cut wood to make our "lodgings, with the which hatchets they brake the vizards of their head-pieces "and then clave their heads; for otherwise they could hardly have been slain, "they were so surely armed; so that there were ever three or four about one of "them.' It is not necessary to infer that these unfortunate men-at-arms who "were thus cracked, as if they were huge crustaceans, were helpless from "wounds, or insensible from their fall. It was among the great disadvantages "of plate armour that when a man was once in it he could not get out again "without help; nay, he was sometimes so securely fastened in it that the aid "must come in the shape of an armourer's tools; and the armour was "sometimes so cumbrous that when he was once down he could not get up "again—a castle of steel on his war-horse, a helpless log when overthrown."—("The Knights of the Middle Ages," Rev. E. L. Cutts.)

Ruskin, in referring to the armouring of a mail-clad warrior, thus aptly writes:—"You cannot think that the buckling on the knight's armour by his "lady's hand was a mere caprice of romantic fashion. It is the type of an "eternal truth—that the soul's armour is never well set to the heart unless a "woman's hand has braced it; and it is only when she braces it loosely that "honour of manhood fails."

X.—The armour of one of the AUBREYS at Clehonger is in great contrast to Richard Delamare. There we found massive armour, solid but plain: here we have a lighter suit with fantastic additions. Aubrey is represented

bareheaded, and his head resting on his helmet, with a dog's head for a crest. Mail armour had been re-introduced, and is shown at the neck and beneath the taces. A globular cuirass protects the body, and to it is attached a short skirt of taces. The tuiles are of peculiar shape, and were more for ornament than for use. The sword is suspended diagonally in front of him.

XIV.—Much resembles the one last described, except that the armour is plainer.

XXIV.—WILLIAM FOX (Ludford, 1554). This brass is peculiarly interesting as being one of the comparatively few brasses erected in Queen Mary's reign. The gorget of mail and skirt of mail are of large size. The paldrons are high and bent outwards; not much of the cuirass appears; the skirt of taces has disappeared; and the ornamental tuiles are buckled on to the waist of the cuirass. His feet are encased in wide-toed sabbatons, and his sword hangs diagonally behind him.

XXVI.—JOHN HAYWARD (Ledbury, 1614). The elaborate defence of plate and mail armour, of which already we have had specimens, was at this period found to be no sure protection to the musket and cannon balls, so they became gradually disused, and in the figure before us we find a country esquire wearing a breastplate, paldrons, ribbed to represent the puffed sleeves then so fashionable, brassarts, and over his trunk hose are strapped tassets; slight plate armour covers the legs, and his feet are shod with stout shoes. Above his gorget he wears a little frill.

III. CIVILIANS.

The earliest remaining in Herefordshire is No. IV., which, from lack of a name, is called "A Civilian, with Dog" (Haines). His figure was originally in the head of a cross, of which only a portion of the stem remains. He is represented with a forked or bifid beard. He wears a hood, and long gown buttoned up the front; the sleeves are full and loose, but confined at the wrist. A drawing of this brass in a more perfect state is given in "Haines's Manual," and Dingley gives a sketch which shows that it was mutilated in his time. This figure was wilfully cut by a workman who wished to make a "square" of it.

XII.—JOHN STOCKTON (1480). He wears a long tunic reaching to the ankles; this opens down the front, and the mode of fastening is not shown. The sleeves are ample and of uniform width. From his belt hangs a rosary. Over the right shoulder is thrown a hood; it consists of a cap which is shaped somewhat like a Scotch bonnet, and to it is attached a long scarf or streamer which reaches below the knees. He is standing on a "tun," a punning allusion to his name "Stockton." Above No. XIV. is, I fancy, the mayor's cap or cap of maintenance. As far as I can learn there is only one other such instance in England, and that is on a recently discovered brass in St. Peter's Church, Chester.

I am of opinion that the plate of brass should not have been placed over the head of No. XIV., but over John Stockton, who held the office of Mayor of Hereford.

XXVIII.—JOHN AWBRY (Burghill, 1616). He is in the loose cloak of the period, with ruff, peascod doublet, trunk hose, and low shoes. Behind him is his son, who is dressed similarly to his father, except that instead of a ruff he wears a collar.

IV. THE LADIES.

IX.—This is a very fine specimen of a gentlelady's costume of the fifteenth century. ISABELLA DELAMERE has the horned head-dress, so called because the side cauls of the crespine head-dress were raised above the head and formed horn-like projections. Over it is thrown a veil, which is shown behind the neck. She wears a mantle, fastened by a cord in front; this covers the sideless dress worn over the kirtle. She alone is adorned with the collar of S S.

X.—A lady of the AUBREY Family (Clehonger). She wears the wired or butterfly head-dress, which was much in vogue, especially among ladies of rank. This remarkable head-dress was composed of a framework of wire fastened to a cap or caul, into which the hair was strained back so as to be completely hidden. This caul was made of coloured silks, oftentimes embroidered in gold or silver thread, and sometimes enriched with jewels. Over the wirework foundation a veil of gauze, lawn, or other light material was thrown. Mr. Planché, in his "History of the British Costume," shows that these butterfly head-dresses are prototypes of those worn even at the present day by the *paysannes* of Normandy. The dress is tight-fitting and cut low; the cuffs and skirt are enriched by embroidered flowers and leaves instead of the usual fur edge. A loose hip-girdle, with a pendant in the shape of an acorn, completes her costume; a jewelled collar adorns the neck. She is represented in a very constrained and unnatural position, very different from the usual devotional attitude.

XXIV.—JANE FOX (Ludford). Her face, which the artist has not at all gracefully represented, is surrounded by a stiff close-fitting cap which conceals every vestige of her hair and gives her a very formal look. She is dressed in the usual costume of that period, and has an oval ornament engraved with the five wounds suspended from her girdle.

XXVII.—MARGARET CHUTE (Marden). In the previous figures of ladies the hairdresser and milliner seem to have devoted all their energies to hiding that natural ornament of a woman—the hair; but in this instance the hairdresser appears to have shown as much hair as possible. At the back of her head is a comb with nine points which is supporting the hair well brushed up. This mode of dressing the hair is more plainly shown on the daughter by her side. Her dress affords a great contrast to Isabella Delamere; there we have simplicity

itself, here a profusion of adornment. The wide, richly-embroidered and stiffened collar, within it a ruff surmounted by an elegant necklace, renders her conspicuous. I cannot do better than quote the apt remarks of Mrs. Oliphant: "The cumbrous and elaborate dress, all covered with network of gold and pearls, "encrusted with jewels, rustling with every richness that could be invented, has "something in it which is harmonious with the period under consideration. The "stiffness and solidity of the portentous petticoat, the projection of the farthingale, "more violent than any of the hoops which followed, the formidable breastplate "of the stomacher, the tremendous ruff, are all familiar. Never since the days of "real iron was such armour worn. The costume, however, was in perfect keeping "with the trunk-hose and peascod bellied doublet which accompanied it. No two "costumes ever more completely matched each other. And such a pair as these "splendid persons must have made, ruff for ruff and stuffing for stuffing! Their "mutual inflation—the bran of the one, the wheel of the other, must have kept "them at a respectful distance even when standing side by side, and how either "man or woman could have turned the head to cast a tender glance at his or her "companion it is difficult to divine."

And now let us turn to Worcestershire. In this county as far as I know there are left twenty-seven brasses.

I. ECCLESIASTICAL.

IV., VI., VII., VIII., XIII., XV., XXVII.—The earliest is that of RICHARD CASSEY (IV.), Rector of Tredington, who was also Canon of York, 1414—1427. He is habited in processional garments already described. On the orphrey of his cope are his initials, R. C., six times repeated. At some period or other this brass has been relaid, and a portion of the inscription has been inserted upside down. The inscription is much mutilated, more so than in Nash's time, who significantly adds to his transcript *cetera desunt.* The coat of arms, a chevron between three hawks' heads erased, or, for Cassey, appears at Deerhurst, Gloucestershire, on the brass of Sir John Cassy, 1400, and wife Alice. The hawks' heads are also used as breaks in the inscription.

VI.—THOMAS MORDON (Fladbury), 1458. He was, in addition to being Rector of Fladbury, Treasurer of St. Paul's Cathedral from 1423—1433. This half-effigy is in the processional garments, and his initials, T. M., appear on the orphrey of his cope.

VII.—HENRY SAMPSON (Tredington), 1482. The Rector is represented in cassock, surplice, and almuce. This is an instance of processional garments without the cope. At certain seasons the cope was not worn. At St. Martin's, in the Bull Ring, is an effigy similarly dressed to Henry Sampson. The almuce was originally of a like shape to the stole, made of grey fur, and thrown over

the wearer's head to keep it warm. In the fifteenth century a cape and pendants of tails of animals depending from it were added. Both Sampson and the next to be described are shown kneeling.

VIII.—PHILIP WARTHIM, M.A., Vicar (Blockley), 1488. A kind of memorial peculiar to the Continent consists in having the monumental brass on an incised slab, so that the whole forms one composition. To this class belongs the memorial to Philip Warthim, at Blockley. On the slab is a plate of brass let in, on which is engraved the representation of a priest kneeling, whilst by his side is incised a chalice on the stone, and an inscription is carved on the verge of the same. Philip Warthim is represented wearing a cassock, a cape, and a hood. The cassock in this instance is long and flowing, and is arranged in folds round the legs. The front of the cape is gathered up by the raising of the arms. The hood falls back from the neck and shows the cassock beneath. In front of Philip Warthim is a chalice incised on the stone itself. The chalice has an egg-shaped bowl, a large knob on the stem, and a large foot. It is of a size out of all proportion to the figure.

XIII.—WM. PLEWME (Fladbury), 1504. This small effigy is in the eucharistic garments already spoken of.

XV.—WM. NEELE (Blockley), 1510. Like the last, he is habited in the eucharistic vestments, but he is kneeling on an embroidered cushion.

XXVII.—BP. PRIDEAUX (Bredon), 1650. I have brought this to show in contrast with No. II., Herefordshire. There is no effigy on this memorial, but to show his episcopal dignity a mitre is represented above the inscription. At Dorchester, Oxòn, the tombstone of Abbot Sutton, 1348, consisted simply of a pastoral staff and an inscription. After the Reformation for the pastoral staff the mitre was substituted, as in the present instance and also at Wells Cathedral, 1626, and Westminster Abbey, 1661. The mitre may be described as consisting of a circlet of gold, from which rises a high cap cleft from the top. From the circlet depend two vittæ or infulæ, or ribbons of purple silk or other rich material, and fringed at the extremities with gold. This example is double pointed, and is represented as being highly adorned with jewels, plates of gold, etc.

II. MILITARY.

I.—ROBERT RUSSEL (Strensham), *circâ* 1390. As this is much earlier than No. IX., Herefordshire, I deem it worth while to give a more extended account of his armour. The effigy of Robert Russel affords a good instance of the armour worn at the latter end of the fourteenth century. The defences consist of bascinet, camail of chain-mail, breast and back plates, jupon, cuisses, genouillières, jambs, and sollerets.

The head is covered by an acutely-pointed bascinet, which completely protects the head and neck, but leaving the face exposed. His moustache is visible, but whiskers or beard, if any, are covered by the camail. To the bascinet is attached the camail, or tippet of mail, which was usually fastened by a cord passing through holes in the rim of the bascinet ; but in this instance the mode of fastening is not shown. It should be noticed that the camail consists of two kinds of interlacing rings; the upper band round the face is formed of banded mail, whilst the rest of the camail consists of interlaced chain-mail. The body at this period was usually protected by front or breast-plates, and back-plates, to which was attached a skirt of mail ; over these he wears a jupon, the lower edge being deeply escalloped, beneath which four rows of banded mail of the skirt appear ; the armholes of the jupon are fringed. Gussets of mail are to be seen at the armpits, elbows, and insteps. Stretching horizontally round the hips is a broad massive belt, which is called by Mr. Planché military belt. It appears to be formed of square plates of metal, enriched with quatrefoils linked together, the fastening at the centre being concealed by a circular plate containing a septfoil. To the belt are attached the long sword in an ornamental scabbard on the left side, and a miséricorde on his right side ; the hilt and a portion of the sheath only of the latter are shown, whilst the sword hangs parallel to his leg. The shoulders are protected by épaulières, which usually consist of three plates, but only two are shown here,whilst the arms are guarded by vambraces and brassarts, connected at the elbows by a hinge ; to cover the hinge a coudière is added ; on this figure it is rounded off. Gauntlets ornamented with escalloped cuffs protect the hands ; these are jointed to allow of grasping easily. On the knuckles is one row of gadlings, or knobs, which were occasionally used for attack. In a trial by combat adjudged between John de Visconti and Sir Thomas de la Marche, fought before Edward III. in close lists at Westminster, Sir Thomas de la Marche gained the advantage by striking the gadlings of his gauntlets into the face of his adversary. The legs are shielded by cuisses and jambs of plate which have an escalloped edge on the inner side ; at the knees are genouillières. The feet are encased in sollerets—the articulated steel shoes which took the form of the ordinary shoe according to the fashion of the time—so here they are long and pointed similar to the shoes of the latter end of the fourteenth century. Rowelled spurs are buckled over the insteps.

It may be well to draw attention to the fact that the artist has raised the left eye considerably above the right, and a like degree of obliquity may be seen when comparing the lower edges of the bascinet. This slightly mars the appearance of the figure.

II.—SIR JOHN RUSSELL, Strensham, 1405. This, like the last described, is an admirable specimen of the mixed style of armour which was prevalent at

the close of the reign of Richard II., and throughout that of Henry IV.; wanting merely the substitution of the camail for the haussecol, and the jupon for a cuirass with taces to make it a complete suit of plate armour.

III.—SIR JOHN PHELIP, 1415, and WALTER COOKESEY. In this brass we have the earliest examples in this county of a complete suit of plate. The armour is of the same period as that of Richard Delamere, but particular attention should be drawn to the elaborate sword-belt of Sir John Phelip, the lower portion of which is engraved in Haines, and he adds that this kind of ornamental belt, though perhaps to be found on no other brass except this instance only, was commonly worn during this century, little bells being occasionally attached to it. Both wear the collar of SS, of which there is a long and interesting account in the Archæologia Cantiana.

V.—JOHN THROCKMORTON, Fladbury, 1445. A complete suit of plate, consisting of gorget, brassarts, vambraces, with extra plates to defend the shoulder and elbows; cuirass, to which is attached a skirt of taces; cuissarts, jambarts, genouillières, and sollerets; for further protection to the thighs tuiles are buckled on the taces, and extra pointed plates protect the shins.

IX.—EDWARD PEYTOO, Fladbury, 1488, and XII. ROBERT RUSSELL, Strensham, 1502. Their armour is similar to No. XIV., Hereford Cathedral. No. XII. is lying loose and broken in the vestry; I heard that a previous vicar had removed the brasses to make room for a memorial to his wife.

XVIII.—PHILIP CHATWYN, Alvechurch, 1524. Very good example of sixteenth century armour. Gussets of mail are here introduced to give freer scope to the arms.

XX.—SIR JOHN RUSSELL, Strensham, 1556, is in armour, but most of it is concealed by his tabard, a cloak on which is emblazoned his coat of arms.

XXI.—ANTHONY DASTON, Broadway, 1572, and XXII. SIMON WHELER, Yardley, 1598, are in similar armour; gorget, breastplate, paldrons, and tassets, the arms and legs being encased in plate.

CIVILIANS.

X.—THOMAS PAYNE, 1500, is in a long tunic confined at the waist by a girdle, above which the tunic is thrown back to show the fur facings. The sleeves are wide at the wrists, with fur cuffs. From his belt hangs a rosary. The feet are shod with cumbrous wide-toed shoes.

XI.—THOMAS FOREST, c1500, is similarly attired, with the addition of a gypcière or external purse fastened to his girdle.

XIV.—WILLIAM PARKER, 1508, a gypcière is shown, but no rosary.

XXII.—WILLIAM ASTELL, 1598, is represented in the ordinary civilian's costume of the period. Like Simon Wheler, his hair is arranged in curls; the moustache and pointed beard are shown. Round his neck he wears a large frill.

He is dressed in a doublet, over which is a long gown with striped sleeves hanging from the shoulders; beneath the gown are the sleeves of the doublet. The gown is lined or faced with fur. Low shoes are on his feet.

XXIII. and XXIV.—HENRY and ROBERT SMITH, 1606 and 1609, are habited in the usual civilian's costume of the days of James I. They are bare-headed, with hair and beard closely cropped, and a heavy moustache. They wear a large ruff around the neck. The gown is long with short sleeves, which barely reach to the elbows; it is slightly open in front, revealing the row of buttons of the doublet; the sleeves of the same are tight-fitting. and reach to the wrist. The other garments are concealed by their gowns.

XXV.—THOMAS HAREWELL, 1617, is habited in the long customary gown of the period; it has deep collar, which is thrown back. The sleeves are merely ornamental appendages, and hang loosely from the shoulders, in a similar fashion to the sleeves of the gown worn by a "Master of Arts." The gown is not thrown open wide enough to show the doublet beneath, but its sleeves are shown to be tight-fitting and they have broad cuffs. His hair is cropped close and the beard trimmed to a point, whilst the ends of his moustache are slightly curled. He wears the then fashionable ruff.

XXVI.—WILLIAM GARDINER, 1632, affords a capital example of the costume worn by gentry in the time of Charles I. He is standing erect, bare-headed, and hair arranged on each side of his head in "love-locks" concealing the ears. The tuft of hair on his chin is plainly shown. His outer dress consists of a cloak barely long enough to reach his knees, and worn loosely. This short cloak takes the place of the civilian's gown which covered the effigies of the last few examples described in this series. The cloak has a lappet over the shoulders, and over this is a deep turned-down collar with a fringed edge, instead of the starched and uncomfortable frill. The doublet is closely buttoned from the neck to the waist, and has a short skirt; the sleeves of it are puffed, and they fit tightly at the wrists, where are small reflex cuffs fringed like the collar. His legs are encased in short trunks, "frilled like a child's trousers," and to which the hose were fastened. He wears high jack boots, with the tops turned down, and round toes. These boots originally came from Spain, for Dekker, in his "Seaven deadly sinnes of London," 1606, describing an Englishman's suit, says, "Polonia (Spain) gives him his bootes." They became so common that Gondemar, the Spanish Ambassador to the Court of James, remarked, "I will amaze my countrymen on my return by letting them know "that all the people in London are booted, and apparently ready to walk out of "town."

Across his insteps are fastened rowelled spurs. Round his waist is a narrow belt, from which hangs a loose sword belt, which supports his rapier. The rapier has a kind of small basket or shell to protect the hand. This shell was

"generally pierced with a multitude of minute perforations, designed to entangle "and break off the adversary's point." Besides, there is a long and curved cross-guard, which serves as a further defence for the hand.

William Gardiner is in an erect posture, slightly turned to his right. His right hand clasps a book on his breast, whilst his left is laid on the hilt of his rapier.

THE LADIES.

III.—LADY PHELIP wears the crespine head-dress, with the side-cauls of large size. In this variety the hair was arranged in a kind of caul or net, which covered the ears, and was padded out till it formed almost a square. The caul on Lady Phelip is very elegantly adorned with a diamond pattern, and had very probably jewels at each corner of the diamonds. Across her forehead and side-cauls stretches a fillet of embroidery work with a zigzag pattern; over the top of the head-dress is thrown a veil pendant behind.

Lady Phelip wears the gown worn by the ladies of rank of that period, short-waisted, with a square collar turned over the shoulders. Her sleeves, which somewhat resemble those of the old-fashioned surplice, are very full, and wide enough to reach the ground even when her hands are raised in a devotional attitude: the sleeves are open at the wrists, and are lined with fur; there is also a fur edging to her deep collar. This figure is so much worn that the girdle and the kirtle at her wrists are scarcely seen. Round her neck is a collar of SS, and at her feet a dog wearing a collar of bells, with head to left and looking upward. The dog represented at the feet of Lady Phelip is doubtless of the same kind as the "smale houndes" which were the favourites of the gentle Prioresse described by Chaucer in the following lines:—

> "Of smale houndes hadde she, that she fedde
> "With rosted flesh and milk, and wasted brede;
> "But sore wept she if one of hem were dead,
> "Or if men smote with a yerde smart."

V.—ALIANORA, the wife of JOHN THROCKMORTON, ESQ., is habited in the attire customarily worn by widows about the middle of the fifteenth century The hair is confined by a close cap, and over this is thrown a veil, which falls in graceful folds on the shoulders. This fashion was styled the veil head-dress, or hood. A gorge, or barbe, stiffly plaited, covers the neck; it is drawn over the chin in plaits, and strained up each side of the face. Her mantle is fastened by a cord, which passes through two metal loops with studs in the front, called fermailes, placed on each side of the mantle. This cord passes through a slide, generally made of cord, and terminates in tassels below the waist. In this instance the fermailes are concealed by the barbe, and the slide by the hands.

The gown is long, and has tight sleeves with very narrow fur cuffs at the wrists, where the close-fitting sleeves of the kirtle are also to be seen. The gown is not girt at the waist. On her right hand is a ring with a jewel.

X.—URSULA PAYNE, XI. MARGARET FOREST, XII. ELIZABETH RUSSELL are dressed after the same fashion. They are represented as wearing the pedimental, kennel, or diamond-shaped head-dress; as this head-dress is to be found on many of the brasses of this period, it is worthy of description. Mr. F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A., in his account of "Ladies' Head Gear," thus speaks of this head-dress:—"A perfectly geometrical form, which might have been "invented by some clerical architect, succeeded to the butterfly head-dresses in "the reign of our Henry VII. An angle, like the penthouse of an old timber "mansion, was formed over a lady's forehead, and a straight ugly line was "brought down the sides of the face; the whole thing was formalism run mad." —"St. James's Magazine," No. XII. (March, 1862), p. 459. Like the butterfly head-dress, it was "supported by wires and confined the hair in a round cap at "the back of the head, but it was destitute of the veil projecting behind; its "leading characteristics were long frontlets or lappets, which formed an angle "over the forehead, and hung down on each side, and similar lappets depended "behind."—Haines, I., p. 212. The robe is long and flowing, narrow-waisted, and has tight-fitting sleeves with deep fur reflexed cuffs. A loose hip girdle completes the attire.

XXII.—ISABELLA WHELER appears in a Paris cap, a ruff round her neck; the collar of her gown is thrown open, the sleeves are full, but tight fitting at the wrist. The waist is encircled by a sash. The skirts are voluminous.

XXIV.—TOMASIN and SARAH SMITH are dressed alike with one exception: the hair brushed back from the temples, and confined by a cap. Over this is worn a large calash or hood, which falls over the shoulders and reaches nearly to the elbows. They wear ruffs. A long-bodied stomacher reaches to the waist, where it is rounded off. The wife on the right of the husband has it fastened by bows, whilst the one on the left has her's laced. The skirts of the dress are slightly extended at the waist. The sleeves fit closely with broad cuffs at the wrists.

XXV.—MARGARET HAREWELL, 1617, wears a kind of French hood, in which the lappet at the back is thrown forward over the top of the head. "These flaps were perhaps termed shadoes or bonne-graces." Haines I., p. 246. The following is an interesting extract from an indenture made in 1500, between the executors of Thomas Fermor, Esq., and Richard and Gabriell Roiley, "Tumbe-makers," of Burton-upon-Trent. ". . . . . a decent and "p'fect picture or portraiture of a faire gentlewoman w'th a Frenche-hood, edge "and abiliment, with all other apparell furniture jewells ornamentes and thinges "in all respectes usuall, decent, and semely for a gentlewoman." Margaret

Harewell has the usual starched ruff around her neck, but none at the wrists; instead there are broad cuffs to the closely-fitting sleeves. Her stomacher and skirts are plain. She wears a hoop. "In the XVIII. century the hoop yielded "something to nature, and in the XIX. century it yielded more. The hoop "proper was not so abrupt as the farthingale, and the crinoline was greatly "softened from the hoop. Anything more monstrous in point of grace could "not be; yet to own the truth there was a certain *fond* of use and reason in "these deplorable inventions. Female dress has always been attended by a "certain difficulty. Ugly though the hoop was, it must have made existence "possible to Elizabeth and her Court, with their heavy garments rough with "jewels and gold. They could not have lived under those burdens but for this "machine, which kept the weight off, and extended the stiff decorated stuff, "which otherwise would have rubbed and worn away its glory—and crushed "the hapiess wearer, had it hung unsustained in those huge folds around any "mortal limbs." *Dress*, by Mrs. Oliphant.

Mary Harewell wears a broad-brimmed hat, wreathed round the crown. Beneath her ruff is a lappet with escalloped edge, and from her neck-chain hangs a heart. From her shoulders depend strips, which also have an escalloped edge. Her waist is encircled by a sash tied in a bow in front.

Had time permitted, I would have bid you notice the elaborate canopies, the varied coats of arms, and the quaint inscriptions. Then, too, many of these men were famous, and their biographies are entertaining and instructive. But I have been merely able to give a sketch, to act as a finger-post to him who wishes to explore this most interesting subject. To the contemplative mind these memorial brasses are eminently suggestive. They bring vividly before the mind the emotions, the struggles, the anxieties of a wondrous past; they reveal most clearly some of the most stirring and deeply-impressive episodes of our by-gone history; and they stand before us with a brightness the slumber of the grave has been powerless to dim. They suggest how complete in a few centuries has been the transformation of male attire, and they suggest, too, the vast changes which have been made in the surrounding circumstances of life—in our homes, our roads, our means of communication, and in our political and religious being; the joys and the cares—the troubles and the disappointments of ages long since past. They also bring before us

Old legends of the monkish page,
Traditions of the saint and sage;
Tales that have the rime of age,
And chronicles of old.

The Old Families of Birmingham.

BY JOSEPH HILL.

25th March, 1885.

ALTHOUGH at the Norman Conquest the population of Birmingham was less than fifty men, women, and children, there is every reason to believe that the little colony had existed between the Rhea and the present site of the parish church for some centuries previously; it is even recorded that a mercate was held by the Saxon owner; yet with the solitary exception of Ulwin, who held Birmingham in the Confessor's time, not another name is known in connection with Saxon Birmingham. At the date of the Domesday survey, the name of Richard (who held under the non-resident Chief Lord) alone is recorded. That Richard was descended from Ulwin, or that he was the ancestor of the succeeding lords, is merely a surmise, and the search for names of Birmingham men during a century and a half after the Conquest has as yet brought no results; indeed, the only men who so late as the middle of the thirteenth century have hitherto been mentioned are Robert Hathewy and his son John, who (1241) had a suit with William de Bermyngham regarding some lands in the town. Yet it is now known that the population had grown with considerable rapidity, and with it had developed a commercial spirit which is perhaps the most satisfactory feature of our ancient town. This safe inference is drawn from the knowledge that by or about 1250 was founded the Church of St. Martin, that various Charters were granted for holding markets and fairs, that in 1285 was founded

the Hospital of St. Thomas the Apostle, with which hospital (or priory) was connected a Church, known as the Free Chapel, subsequent endowments being made for chaplains or chantrys in each of the Churches, these endowments being followed by the founding of two endowed Guilds—those of Birmingham and Deritend. Moreover, private records show that during this period the dealings with Land—which had become divided among a numerous class of holders—were frequent, and by the year 1319 a general plan of paving was commenced. Again, it is shown by the recently published subsidy roll of 1327 that the inhabitant householders of the town or lordship possessed of goods to the value of ten shillings numbered seventy-five, and by the addition of possessors of goods of less value, and women, children, and servants, a rough estimate of the population at that date may be fixed at seven hundred souls.

I am indebted to the researches of Mr. W. B. Bickley for the earliest names of men of our town yet discovered. These commence with the year 1221, and extend over a lengthened period. The records from which the following names are extracted, the "Pleas of the Crown" and the "Assize rolls of the county of Warwick," illustrate some remarkable features of early local life.

In the year 1221 (5th H. III.) John Co (Kew or Cow) was murdered in Burmingeham by one Ernald Pudding, who came from Staffordshire; no Englishry was presented by the jury of twelve persons, therefore the town was amerced.

In the same year John de Kent of Burmingeham was murdered by his servants, John and Henry, who fled. They were in the Frankpledge of Peter le Fraunceis in Burmingeham, no Englishry proved; for this latter offence the town was amerced one mark, and the Frankpledge of Peter Fraunceis, for the flight, half a mark. One William de Estan is also mentioned in the record.

Peter Francis was the head man of the ten families who comprised the Frank Pledge or surety for free men, in which the two murderers had been sworn, and the pledge was responsible for their escape.

The fine upon the town was in consequence of the non-proof of Englishry, or evidence of the murdered man being an Englishman. The required proof being of a full and complete character, and, moreover, differing in various counties, was seldom given, the amercement being preferable to the trouble and expense of bringing together several kinsmen of the murdered man, probably from a distance, to afford testimony. Its necessity was abolished in Edward III.'s reign.

In the same year Robert the Miller, of Aston, was murdered by Peter the Proud (orguilu), the murderer being outlawed at the suit of Robert the Miller's father, and about the same time the Reeve of Bordesleg', Ernald, was murdered by John Oclfey. Ernald must have been an old man, for his slayer was in the frankpledge of one Hugh, the grandson of the Reeve.

In 1231-2 (16th H. III.), Emma, the daughter of Asteline, was found slain between Egebaudesdon and Burmingcham *on the heath.* It was not known who slew her and no one except a malefactor was suspected. No Englishry. Judgment, murder.

In the same year Elena, the wife of Ailwn Trua, was murdered by Thomas Helle, who fled and was outlawed at the suit of Ailwn, husband of Elena. The murderer was remaining in Birmingham out of frankpledge. The town was therefore doubly amerced, first for permitting him to remain without being under pledge or surety, and second for not pursuing, capturing, and producing the murderer.

The names Helle (Hulle or Hill) and Keu (Coo or Cow), although not common, survived for a considerable period in the town.

From the Assize Rolls Mr. Bickley has brought forth various lists of Jurors, among which are the following:—1247 (31st H. III.)

Thomas le Taylur (*Chief Bailiff*).

William Martin.	Ralph del Grene.	John del Grene.
John de Stodlegh.	Benedict.	Hugh le Mercer.
John Hathewy.	Peter de Overton.	John le Cottan.
Absalom.	John Treyte.	

1285 (13th Ed. I)

Simon le Keu.	William le Porveur.	Adam Phelyp.
Richard de Aldeport.	William de Stodle(gh).	William Martyn.
Simon de Rokeby.	Adam Girewinte.	Robert de Derby.
William le Teynturer.	William Edrich.	Bernard de Norton.

By this record it is shown that "*the Bailiffs of the same Town*" arrested for suspicion of robbery two men, Simon and Ralph, who came to Bermyngcham with six beasts. Simon afterwards broke prison and fled, and "*the keepers* of the aforesaid prison" immediately raised the hue, so that the community of the town came to that hue and manfully pursued Simon and killed him fleeing, as he did not allow himself to be arrested. Ralph afterwards came into a full Court and confessed the robbery and was hanged.

It thus appears that not only was the town enabled to return a full Jury of capable men but that the jurymen were representative of old families long settled there, that it was ruled by two bailiffs, had a prison and prison keepers, and that the community upheld the laws by killing fleeing malefactors and hanging felons.

From the business transacted we learn further names and some curious facts concerning ancient Birmingham.

Roger the son of Richard del Hull (Hill) quarrelled with John the son of John de la Rudyng, whom he wounded in the back with a knife and thereupon fled, but John living ten weeks, Roger returned and was taken prisoner by

John de Stodley (who was since dead), the Bailiff of the town, and handed over to Richard de la Grene, of Bordesley, Richard his son, Adam son of Richard, and Ralph le Mown (in whose frankpledge apparently he was); they, however, let him depart, and John dying they were liable to judgment.

John Bulebek broke into the mill of Eggebaldeston and fled; he was pursued by the towship of Eggebaldeston and so wounded that he died and was *afterwards decapitated;* his brother Robert being suspected withdrew himself and was outlawed. He was a stranger, and had no chattels.

Every old reference to our Church of St. Martin is of importance, and the following from its very early date has a special value :—

" Pleas of the Crown, County of Warwick, 1285." (13th Ed. I.)

" William Basseley placed himself in the Church of Byrmingeham and acknowledged himself to be a robber and abjured the kingdom before the Coroner his chattels 4s. 4d. whereof let the Sherrif answer, it is not known concerning his decennary because a stranger."

A similar claim of sanctuary in St. Martin's, by William de Torpeley, was made in the same year.

The earliest references to St. Martin's Church I had hitherto met with were the Inquisition of 1290, upon the death of Roger de Someri, and the Ecclesiastical Taxation of England and Wales by authority of Pope Nicholas IV., A.D. 1291, in which the Church of Burmingham is returned at £5. Tithes 10s.

The value of the Churches of Birmingham, Aston, and Edgbaston is shown by the " Inquisitiones Nonarum, 1340" (14th Ed. III.)

	Taxed at	Ninth of Sheaf, Fleece, and Lamb.	Glebe, with Tithe of Hay.
Church of Aston	£40	£30	£10
Church of Birmingham	£5	£3	£2
Church of Egebaston	£1	10s.	10s.

In the year 1298, William de Harewode claimed sanctuary in the Church of Bermyngeham before William Corbiszon the coroner.

Another assize jury of 1306, viz.:—

William Corbyn,	John de Stodley,	John de Clodshale, jun.
William le Mercer,	John Phelip,	Richard le Mir,
Walter de Clodshale,	Thomas de Clodshale,	Thomas de Evesham,
William le Purveyr,	William de Neuport,	John le Hunte,

dealt with the following crimes :—

Walter de Barre stealing a Casket with 16s. in silver from the house of Sibyl de Huntyngdon in the town of Bermyngeham.

Thomas the son of Mathew de Norton killing Agatha the wife of John de Coston in the town of Bermyngeham.

John de Webbley taken at Bermyngeham and hanged for stealing five oxen. Also John de Paris for a like offence.

Henry Hende of Dodeston for murder of Alexander Bilet of Bermyngeham at night time.

The various names here given as jurors will be useful for reference to show the period during which various families existed in the town, and, compared with the Subsidy Roll of 1327,* will give a tolerably correct idea of the social standing of many of them, and thereby most of the names subsequently introduced will be readily recognised and the importance of these founders of old Birmingham families better understood.

I shall now proceed with the names derived from a fruitful and trustworthy source, that of ancient private Charters, and it is a matter of astonishment, when the wholesale destruction which has through all ages been going on is considered, that so many of these legal documents have survived to us; that it is proof, if proof were necessary, of the vast number of Deeds, Grants, Confirmations, and Releases prepared in ancient times in connection with the various dealings with land. Upon the completion of these transactions the law writer gathered together frequently upon a Sunday or market day some six or more of the most worthy neighbours as witnesses, and their names being written in the body of the deed shows that a previous arrangement must have been made with certain witnesses to attend, any additional persons present being included in the never omitted words "and many others."

On Sunday after Michaelmas, 1322 (16th Ed. II.), Robert, the son of William Hold, made a deed in favour of John, his son, and Agnes, his wife, of property near the Little Park and the way which leads towards the water (the Rhea). The adjoining owners were:—

Willm. le Mey,	Alan the Miller (*le Molendinarius*)
Richard Brangwain,	Roger le Masson, and
Richard, the son of Richard the Dyster.	

The witnesses being—

William le Mercer,	John le Porter,
Walter de Clodshale,	Adam Godfrey, Clerk,
Adam le Dexter,	And others.

The whole of these names long after existed in the town, as they probably had long before.

From William the Mey, possibly the mow or mower, descended My, Migh, and Meigh, readily traceable for 320 years. The Miller was so common a mode of description that it might pass to the next Miller with the Mill. Richard the

* "Taxation of the Inhabitants of Birmingham, Edgbaston, and Aston." By W. B. Bickley. Birmingham: Downing. 1885.

Deyster was also a common name, simply the Dyer; numerous instances are to be found in Birmingham, Coventry, Erdington, and elsewhere, and Adam le Dexter may be identified in Adam le Deyster. The Mercers were of good substance, and are moreover to be noticed in connection with endowments of the Priory of St. Thomas, Alexander giving a small Rent, and liberal provision was made in 1350 for the repose of the souls of William and Margery his wife. The Subsidy Roll of 1327 gives the names of this William and also a John, probably his brother, and the next Charter gives a Thomas.

The Clodshales were also chantry founders, but their bounty was chiefly in connection with the Mother Church, and some valuable properties in the Market Place, in Moul or Moor Street, and Chapel or Bull Street formed part of their endowments. Of the Clodshales, Dugdale says:—"From what "original their ancestors were other than townsmen of Bermingham, wherein "they had Lands of good worth, as by a multitude of ancient deeds appeareth. "I cannot express, of which Lands out of the good affection by him borne to "that place in 4th Ed. III. (1330) obtained license of Wm. de Burmingham to "amortize 4 messuages and 20 acres of Land and Rent of xviiid. to found a "Chantrie in St. Martins."

The Endowment of his son Richard (21st Ed. III., 1347) consisted of ten messuages, ten acres of land, and ten shillings of rent, whilst John Clodeshale, presumably the father of Walter, and the founder of the family, had in former years contributed to the priory. The Subsidy Roll shows Walter to have been by far the richest man in the town in 1327, his tax more than doubling any other. In 1332 he purchased Saltley Manor of the heiress of the house of Rokeby; subsequently his son Richard, refusing knighthood, paid a fine of £10. A grandson of this Richard married the widow of Thomas Middlemore, the daughter of Richard Edgbaston, and lived and died at the Edgbaston Manor House: the Duke of Bedford was one of his executors.

The Porter family flourished in Birmingham and Edgbaston many centuries. One Robert held the Blade Mill, near this spot, during the Civil Wars; and the widow of another, a century later, became the wife of Dr. Johnson. The owner of the Blade Mill was the writer of the letter from Coventry, so well known for its account of the attack of Prince Rupert; he commanded a company, and left for Coventry upon Rupert's entry into the town. A branch of this family still survives.

In 1347 (21st Ed. III.) Peter Reginald, of Munneworth, granted to Alice Mityng, of Burmingham, a cottage in Egebaston Street, adjoining land of Thomas le Mercer, the road leading to Godwell Field, and a lane called Barley Lane, the witnesses being—

Thomas le Mercer,	John le Coulerer,	John Verite,
William le Warrener,	John de Billeston,	And others.
John le Warrener,	Thomas le Hunte,	

The following names appear in various Charters between 1320 and 1350:—

Thomas Aleyn,	William le Mercer,
John Andrew, Capella',	John le Moul,
Walter de Clodshale,	William le Mey,
Roger de Clodshale,	Richard de Shyrenton,
Adam le Deyster,	William Symes (Symones),
John atte Holt,	Thomas le Warri',
John son of Symon atte Holt,	John son of John Wcrueley.
Thomas le Mareschale.	

These deeds introduce the Holts, who were frequent witnesses. The John here named was, in 1327, taxed for his goods at three shillings, one-fifth the amount of Walter Clodshale. This is somewhat remarkable when it is considered that his grandfather was a knight, his mother a daughter of Sir Henry de Erdington, and his own wife a daughter of Sir George Castells; yet it seems clear that he and his son Simon were carrying on a business in Birmingham, Simon's tax being two shillings in the town and two shillings in Witton, where he lived. The John, son of Symon, was the eldest son; he continued to live in Birmingham, whilst his younger brother Walter did not. It is not necessary here to give any details of the Holts, whose active connection with Birmingham only ceased with the death of the late Charles Holte Bracebridge. Their complete history is to be found in Davidson's "Holtes of Aston."* Suffice here to say that for four centuries the ruling passion of the Holts was the acquisition of land, and it is to be feared upon the whole that Birmingham rather suffered than benefited by their connection.

The Mareschales require a passing word. They were holders and buyers of land in 1331, and in 1495 they lived and carried on business in what is now the middle of the Bull Ring, just below the High Cross.

The Mouls are chiefly distinguished for giving a name to Moul Street and for their great antiquity. One, Roger the Moul, was an early donor of lands to the Priory, and I imagine them to be among the few Saxon dwellers here.

The Symonds were not only amongst our very earliest names, but were apparently among those members of the Jewish race who came from Normandy with the Conqueror. Many instances are found in the neighbourhood, as the Abels, Andrews, Jordans, Bretons, Phillips, Myrate or Maryot, Hamon, Symons, &c. The family remaining continuously here had, temp. Hen. VIII., attained the foremost position in the town.

The Shyrentons, or Shyryngtons, were of the family of Sir Henry de Shyrington, Vicar of Aston in 1337. The name appears in Birmingham all through the fourteenth century.

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* Birmingham: E. Everett. 1854.

Another reliable source of names at this period is the jury lists contained in the business-like reports of inquests held by the coroner of the day, one Roberte de Waure, residing in or near Birmingham (I believe Saltley), his enquiries into deaths in our town being held the day following, whilst at Coventry and other distant places, sometimes a week after the death. The Rolls of the Coroner being recopied in London will account for the erroneous spelling of the name of the town.

"An inquest before Robt. de Waure, one of the Coroners of our lord the King in the county of Warwick at Burmyncham on Wednesday next after the fest of the purification of the blessed Mary 2nd February 1365 (39 Ed. III.) p. conquest. By the oath of

John de Coleshill,	Wm. Sharp,	Willm. de Heywod,
John de Heywood,	Wm. Dod,	Willm. de Lench,
Thomas de Belne,	John Smyth,	Willm. de More,
John Porter,	Wm. Haukins,	Phillip Taillor.

That on Tuesday (the previous day).

"John Mustard, of Burmyncham, without any reasonable cause struck William Moul de Burmyncham with a certain knife in the breast to the heart at evening time, of which wound he died and had not ecclesiastic rights, they have the first finder thereof Henry de Wytton who raised the hue and finds sureties Richard Strut and Adam Ras.

"Mustard had no chattels, he immediately escaped, the knife is worth one penny wherewith the town of Burmyncham is charged.

"The jurors presenting are of the four towns of Burmyncham, Edgbaston, Bordesley, and Dodeston."

Another inquest held September, 1366, 40th Ed. III., before Robert de Waure is thus recorded. Jury sworn

"John de Coleshill.	William Hawkyns.	William Dod.
Phillip Taillor.	John Pyt.	William de Lench.
Thomas Halyes.	William Sharp.	Thomas Holden.
John Smyth.	Roger Tabeleye.	Thomas de Belne.

"That on Monday (the previous day) as Robert the son of Richard atte Grene was *standing at supper* in the house of John Hannen at *night time* contentious words having been moved between the said Robert and John the said Robert feloniously struck the said John with a certain knife in the right shoulder of which wound the said John immediately died without ecclesiastic right. First finder, William Cook, raised the hue and finds sureties, viz., John Hunt and John Muryman, Robert fled, goods forty shillings, wherewith the town of Burmyncham is charged, also for the knife three half-pence. Jurors of the four towns as before, by a note the Chattels are directed for the repair of the Court of Pleas, the King himself at Coventry."

Of the names calling for special remark is that of John Coleshull, who, there can be little doubt, was one of the little band of Birmingham men (whose memory has been so shamefully neglected) the founders of the Guild of the Holy Cross, the generous givers of land of great value, a considerable portion of which still supports the Free Grammar School. The four men Thomas Sheldon, John Coleshull, John Goldsmyth, and William atte Slowe conferred a benefit upon the town which should ensure their names and memories being held in high estimation by every inhabitant.

The first of the family recorded in Birmingham, although living continuously in Erdington, for a century earlier, was John de Coleshull—he was taxed here in 1327, and assumedly was the father of John, the Guild founder, who in 1365-6 would be in mid life and consequently of advanced age at the dates of the foundation in 1382 and 1392. A William Coleshull is found as late as 1484, and in 1553 a property in the English market near the Toll Booth was described as of the heirs of —— Colsill; the name was then extinct.

Phillip Taillor is the first of a long line of that name, indeed few names are of longer continuance. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Taylors were faithful to the neighbourhood of the Welch End and Chapel Street. The main stock removed to London, and it is possible and, from certain circumstances, probable that the family of John Taylor, who afterwards settled on the same spot, amassed a fortune of £200,000, and founded a bank, proceeded from this source.

Notwithstanding the general conviction that Birmingham was a town of Smiths, the name of Smyth (here introduced for the first time) was not a common one, and in the year 1327 was not, either in the Latin or English form, held by any Birmingham man with ten shillings in goods. The fact is a remarkable one and goes far to prove that the town did not possess a very early fame for working in iron. This John Smyth of 1365 was probably of Edgbaston, where the name may previously be found. It was afterwards held by a family of Vintners in the High Street, which became prosperous. In Queen Mary's reign there were five separate families of Smyths—chiefly Thomas Smyth, Mercer, and Thomas Smyth, Vintner, holding properties in High Street and near the High Cross. The Smyths the Vintners held the Garland House opposite the Toll Booth, afterwards acquired by William Hutton. Barnabas, the son of Thomas, left a bequest of £20 for loans to tradesmen.

The name of Lench first appears as Lewynch in 1349 at Saltley (Salutheley), and there and at Dodeston became somewhat common. In 1393 one Richard de Lonches and Elizabeth his wife claimed and twice recovered the Manor of Aston, then recently purchased by the Holts, Elizabeth probably being of the family of the former owners. In 1469 John Lench with Johanna his wife is found in the register of the Guild of St. Anne of Knoll. In 1483

he held the distinguished office of master in the Guild of Birmingham, but was generally styled of "Dereyatyend." Of his brothers, Thomas and Henry, the latter belonged to Birmingham; this Henry was the father of William, who held considerable estates in Birmingham, Saltley, Dodeston, Little Bromwich, and Handsworth, all of which he bequeathed for pious purposes to his townsmen; they, however, were deprived of all the outlying lands by law proceedings instituted by Thomas Holte and others, who had bought up the interest of his heir-at-law. William Lench lived in Moor Street, on the site of the Woolpack Hotel, and died there in 1525. The foundation now known as Lench's Trust is an amalgamation of various ancient charitable foundations.

The Holdens were a branch of the ancient and numerous family of Holwyne or Holden, of Erdington, which flourished in that place, in Witton, Nechells, Little Bromwich, or Birmingham for nearly seven centuries.

Resuming names extracted from old Charters, it will only be possible to make a selection. Among those found in various deeds between 1350 and 1390 are:—

Thos. de Sheldon,	Phillip Ayllesbury,	Robert Bonde,
John de Coleshull,	John Mybal,	William Gevon,
Richard de Shyryngton,	Thos. Abel,	John Myrates.
John de Sutton,		

Thomas de Sheldon was one of the original founders of the Guild, but died before its completion. A numerous family of Sheldons and Sheltons (Shylton, Shilton) will be subsequently referred to. The Aylesburys and Suttons are not properly Birmingham names.

Another Charter, 24th March, 1392, 15th Richard II., contains the names of

William Mannyne of Byrmyngeham,
John Coleshull of Byrmyngeham,
John Goldsmyth of Byrmyngeham,
Henry the Deyster (Dyer) of Erdington.

Of these, John Goldsmyth deserves especial mention as one of the founders of our old Guild, although the name is rarely met with. The family would appear to have lived in the town for more than a century afterwards, as by the lists of tenants of the Manor of Birmingham, William Lench held one of his Moor Street properties as the heir of William Goldsmyth, at the yearly rent of one pound of pepper. Some of these lists are fully given in the late Mr. Toulmin Smith's "Men and Names."* Of the other Guild founders, Sheldon or Shelton will be hereafter noticed. Of William atte Slowe little is known unless he be of the family of Sloghe or Slough, of King's Norton, some of whom appear in the Register of Knoll Guild, 1469.

* Memorials of Old Birmingham. W. J. Sackett, 1684.

The old deeds or Charters of the fifteenth century mark the changes which accompanied the growth of the town by the introduction of names, chiefly from the adjacent townships and villages; thus in 1449 we have

Roger Cutte,
John Lord, Corveysor (*Shoemaker*).
John Smyzth,
Richd. Arblastr.,
John Sent Jones.

This deed refers to one little workshop (Opellam) in "*The Corne Markette*," and three of the men named, viz., Cutte, Lord, and Arblaster, with Middlemore, Squyer, Draper, and others, were seventeen years previously, 1432, concerned in an affray in the streets of Birmingham, resulting in lengthy law proceedings, in which the Burdetts of Arrow, Sir Humphrey Stafford of Grafton, and Joan Beauchamp, Lady Bergavenny (daughter of Richard, Earl of Arundel) were implicated; all the Birmingham men fought on the side of the Burdetts. The Bergavenny faction was imported from a distance.

The fame of the Staffords of Grafton, who were killed in the Cade revolt, has been perpetuated by Shakespeare in the second part of "Henry IV." Their connection with Birmingham is shown by their coat being formerly in the Guild Hall window, probably an impalement, whilst the windows of St. Martin's Church showed the arms of the Burdetts, with whom the Graftons intermarried. Lady Bergavenny held the Manor of Bordesley by purchase.

Other Charters, 1420-1460, contain the following:—

John Belle (*Master Gild Holy Cross*).	William Squyer.
John Crowe	John Herman (*Coleshill*).
Richard Walstode.	John Walstod.
John Warde.	Henry Tymmen.
William Stretton.	William Bondeok.
Richard Walrond.	William Porter.
Thomas Erdington (*Armiger*).	John Rakeway.
John Acton.	John Cook.

Of these names, that of Stretton should be alluded to as (according to Mr. Toulmin Smith) belonging to the family of Robert Stretton, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, 1359-1385. This family long held property in Park Street; the Squyers and Herman were the families of Bishop Vesey's parents.

Thomas Erdington, Esq., born 1375, and married to Anne Harecourt, was owner of property in Birmingham, and the father of Sir Thomas Erdington, the last of the race.

February, 1462.

Robert Tolle (*Chaplain*).	John Cokkes.	Richard Bromley.
William Smyth.	Walter Arden (Chantry of).	John Broun.
John Smyth.	John Atte Wode.	John Bradewall.
Sybil Deycon.		

April 23rd, 1463.

John Cokkes.	Thomas Bermyngehm̃ (*Esquire*).
Thomas Erdyngton (*Knight*).	John West.
Richard Wode.	Thomas Boteler.
Thomas Warde.	Richard Arblaster.
William Alsoton.	William Smyth.
William Pakwode.	Roger Pepwall.
William Bermyngehm̃ (*Knight*).	Thomas Bawdryk.
William Harecourt.	William Fillippes (Phillips).

These relate to a messuage, garden, and land in Chapel Street, now Bull Street. The adjoining land of the Chantry of Walter Arden (Clodshales Chantry) was after its confiscation called the Land of our Lady the Queen.

March 15th, 1482.

John Lenche (*Master Gild Holy Cross*).	William Wyott (*Tanner*).
Roger Pepwall.	Henry Cheshire.
William Coleshull.	Thomas Redhill.
Thomas Barnard.	

Relates to a lease of land near the Cawsy and the water called the Old Ree, the original course of the Rhea in Digbeth.

February, 1484.

John Fowne.	John Byrde (*Master Gilde of Byrmyngham*).
Thomas Byrmyngham (*Esquire*).	William Coleshull.
Alice Byrmyngham (*his Wife*).	John Werley.
William Taylor.	Thomas Redhull.
Thomas Norton.	Humphry Pepwall.
John Cokkes.	

Upon the purchase of a croft in Dudwall Lane (Dudley Street), by Thomas Byrmyngham.

March 12th, 1490.

John Locok.	William Walrand.	Roger Pepwall.
Jane Locok (*his Wife*).	John Wotton.	Henry Shulton (*Shylton*).
John Lench.	William Frodsham.	John Lyddyate.

April 17th, 1493.

William Colmer.
William Lench.
Humfry Shepley.
John Lyddyat (*Master Gild Holy Cross*).
Thomas Redhyll.

April 20th, 1493.

Thomas Ward.
William Lench.
Henry Squyer.
Roger Byrde.
John Vynsent.

September 29th, 1493.

John Lydiate (*Master Gild Holy Cross*).
Richard Merchall.
Thomas Redhill.
Henry Shylton.
John Traiford.
William Lench.

Relates to a tenement and garden near the Grave Yard of Saint Martin's Church. Corne Chepynge and the way from the High Cross to Egebaston Street.

June 1st, 1495.

John Wyrley (*Armiger*).
Wm. Taylor.
Thomas Norton.
Humfry Shepley.
John Locock.
Richard Middlemor (*Armiger*).
Thomas Redhill.
Richard Colmor.

June 12th, 1495.

Alicia Draycot, Widow of Thomas Byrmyngham, Esquire.
Henry Shilton.
Margery Shilton (*his Wife*).
John Lyddyat.
John Lench.

October 1st, 1499.

Robert Massye.
Marione Flete (*Widow*).
Hugh Flete (*her Son*).
Johanna Warley (*Widow*).
Richard Wode.
Richard Colmore.
John Phelipp.
Humphry Turnor.

This is a Sale to the Widow Flete of a Messuage in the lower part of Chapel Street, adjoining the Faldam of the Lord of Byrmyngham, otherwise the Lord's Sheepfold and a Croft of Richard Colmore. The Colmores afterwards erected a Messuage or Burgage upon their Croft.

Many of these names are those of new settlers.

The Attte Wodes became also Wood, and of this family Vincent Wood and Anthony Wood lived in the town a century later, the latter marrying into the rising family of Booth.

Sir Thomas Erdington, though not actually resident, was concerned in many dealings with property in Birmingham ; he was the last of a distinguished house. From Edward IV. he had the Manor of Bordesley, but as nothing is

recorded of him after 1468, it may be presumed that he followed the fortunes of Warwick, the king-maker, the former Lord of Sutton, and his Manor of Erdington afterwards being granted to George, Duke of Clarence, would indicate that he fell fighting against King Edward on the field of Barnet, 1471.

The Pakwodes had lived on the same spot 140 years before, and one of the family and a William le Glovere of Burmyngeham were, 1352-1357, concerned in some land transactions at Walsall on the marriage of one Colsone with Elizabeth, the Widow of Sir Fouk Bermyngeham, Knight.

The Wards of Castle Bromwich and Little Bromwich (Ward End) and the Wards of Birmingham were the same; here they carried on the trade of Bakers in Moor Street. In 1573 John Ward founded a Charity, which he endowed with his house in Moor Street and land at Marston Culey. The Wills of John Ward, 1591, and another of 1595, are preserved in the Reference Library.

The presence of Sir William Bermyngeham and his brother, Thomas Bermyngeham, Esq., in company with Sir Thomas Erdyngton and William Harcourt in 1463, illustrates the good feeling existing between these neighbouring landowners. Sir William had, in former years, represented his county in Parliament, but in his later days lived in retirement at Birmingham, and died 1479. Neither his son nor grandson distinguished themselves; the latter predeceased his father, who died at the age of 51, in 1500, upon which he was succeeded by his grandson, Edward, born 1497. One of the last two Williams had died a lunatic, I am not clear which, but the fact may have some bearing upon the troubles with which the life of young Edward was shrouded; troubles which have created for him a lasting sympathy.

On attaining his majority in 1518 he granted various leases. Married Margaret, the daughter of Gerard Danett, of the neighbourhood of Leamington, by whom he had a daughter, Anne, and contracting a second marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Littleton, Knight, he 15th February, 1522, settled upon the child certain lands, to produce £100, appointing Humfrye Symons, the family lawyer, who lived in Edgbaston Street, and John Sheltone, of Moor Street, one of the richest men of the town, receivers, and thirty years later, the Symons and Sheltons were dealing with the settled lands as their own.

In 1527-28 Edward Byrmingham was alleged to be concerned in a common highway robbery at Aston, and subsequently a conviction was obtained. In 1536 an Act was passed whereby his estates were forfeited, and afterwards granted to the notorious John Dudley, Viscount Lisle, Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland, reserving an annuity of £20 to Edward Byrmingham, and at his death, two years after being pardoned, this annuity was doubled in favour of his widow.

The manifest villainy of this transaction has often been exposed; a full account has been given by Mr. Toulmin Smith.*

The daughter of Edward Byrmingham married Richard Atkinson, whilst his widow married William Ludford, of Ansley, Nuneaton, after whose death, before 1541, she became Mrs. William Askeric, of Birmingham.

The Wests, Botelers, Arblasters, Pepwalls, and Bawdryks were all families of prominence, none of whom, however, remained in the middle of the sixteenth century.

William Filippes, Phelip, or Phillips, was of a family probably represented in the Roll of 1327 by John Phelip. The Phillipses would appear to have remained about Park Street, Digbeth, and Moor Street for a lengthened period. The trade of "Chalonere" being added in one instance to a John Phelyps shows there were more than one John: this one made blankets. This was certainly a Birmingham trade from an early period. Indeed, the spinning, bleaching, weaving, and fulling of hemp and wool, combined with a great tanning trade, were among the staple industries of the town. There is ample evidence of this fact. That the smiths, lorimers, and other workers at the anvil became numerous, the testimony of Leland, in 1539, and Camden, 1583, leaves no doubt, The numerous smithies and noisy anvils always open to the street would strike a visitor from their novelty. But I doubt if there was more than one scythe smith's water mill, that of Coopers (or Cowper, distinguished in 1420 as John Cowper the Couper, and John Cowper the Smyth) in the town, whilst the yronmongers, or merchants in iron, were confined to about three families, and were far outnumbered by the tanners, the mercers, or the drapers: they were equalled by the fullers, then a declining trade. This subject requires fuller examination than space here permits. The Phillipses finally retired from Birmingham in Elizabeth's reign, having acquired an estate of great extent in all parts of Birmingham, much of which appears formerly to have been part of the dissolved Chantry and Priory Lands, now held by the Inges. The Phillipses but followed the custom ever prevailing of leaving the town upon the acquisition of wealth.

An interesting paper by Miss Toulmin Smith relating to the Birds, printed in the Transactions of this Section for 1870, shows to what extent this family had spread between Coventry and Birmingham.

The deeds of 1490 and 1499 give the important names of Locock, Shelton, Lyddyat, Colmore, Squier, Byrd, Redhull, Nuhay or Newhay, Wyrley, and Middlemore. The Lococks long remained in the vicinity of, but not in, Birmingham. The Lyddiates were still here during the seventeenth century, whilst the Sheltons, or Shyltons, and the Colmores, acquiring great wealth, attained positions of considerable importance and distinction.

* "Traditions of the Old Crown House, Birmingham." Henry Wright, 1863.

Although it is not clear that the Shyltons represented the family of Sheldon connected with the origin of the Guild, it is at least probable. Henry of 1493 was, however, the founder of the family of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and obtained his wealth as a mercer. He was alive in 1517 and his son John in 1540. The next John was one of the original Governors of the Free School and married a daughter of Stanley, Lord of Westbromwich Manor, and had two sons, Robert and Richard, and several daughters. Robert carried on the business and Richard became a lawyer and Solicitor-General to Charles I., and afterwards King's Counsel. He was born 1579 and became, by purchase, Lord of Westbromwich, to which place the Birmingham Shyltons retired. They were owners of many valuable properties in the town. A rather numerous family of Sheldons were living in Birmingham in the sixteenth century, some at least of whom were connected with the Shyltons.

The Colmore family, which rose rapidly to opulence, were also mercers, but the earlier members in Henry VIII.'s days occupied the land known as Tenter Fields either for farming or, as the name indicates, for bleaching purposes; similar fields in Moor Street, which I believe were used by the Phylips, also bore the name Tenter Fields, being pegged fields for stretching cloth, yarn, or other spun material. The great number of mercers in Birmingham suggests a wider application of the word than merchants in silk; be that as it may, the family amassed great wealth from their trade, acquired a large landed estate in Birmingham, intermarried with the Willoughbys, Woods, Smallbrokes, Porters, and other good families, built New Hall, and finally retired from the town. During the civil war the head of the family became Colonel Colmore and was entrusted with the defence of Coventry.

The Squiers, originally of Handsworth, were in Birmingham in 1430 when one William, in conjunction with John Middlemore and John Schyngeler, of Dory Gate End, paid quit rents to a Coventry foundation, doubtless the gift of one of our former lords. One of this family was the mother of Bishop Vesey of Sutton Coldfield.

The Schyngelers were apparently connected with the Free Chapel of Der Yat End. They are often met with in old charters. In 1436, Holt, of Aston, enfeoffed a Shyngler of his manor, and subsequently a John Shyngler, clerk, devised land in Aston for charitable purposes, now included in Lench's Trust.

Newhay or Nuhay is another remarkable instance of long continuance Assessed at half-a-crown in 1327, in the person of John de Newehay, the family remained in an unbroken line till Cromwell's time, when it had become divided into several distinct branches. The family property was in the Rother Markett.

The Wyrleys, lords of Handsworth, although frequently concerned in land transactions, were not, I believe, at any period resident in Birmingham. With the Middlemores this was not the case; their active connection with the town is

traced at all periods, both as owners and residents, having ancient holdings, which I have traced through many centuries, in the High Street, near Moor Street, and in Edgbaston Street. The latter at least may be assumed to have come down to them from the Egebastons.

Of the names first recorded in the early part of the next century some must have previously existed in the town and others in its neighbourhood, and among these were certainly the Smalbrokes, Coopers, and Foxalls. The former was a well-known family of Yardley, and the first to attain distinction in Birmingham was Richard Smalbroke, a yeoman, who speedily attained the highest honours the town afforded. He was one of the men who obtained the Charter for the Free School, and was appointed one of the first Governors and Bailiff of the town. His advance was very rapid. He held a house in the Market Place, probably the house in which Bishop Smalbroke was born ; other property in Edgbaston Street and the Foreign. One at least of his sons was a lawyer of large practice, and others became mercers or merchants. A considerable property, formerly seized from the town, was purchased by members of the family from the Crown, or from those who had already acquired from that source. One Richard Smalbroke, in 1544, created a dole in Sheldon, and another in Birmingham, arising from a salt vat at Droitwich. Another Richard (temp. James I.) resided at the Ravenhurst. The valuable estates acquired by the Smalbroke family are known in our day as the Vyse Estates. The family connection with Birmingham extended over two centuries, during which period its members intermarried with all the principal families of the town.

The Coopers, Coupers, or Cowpers, although originally belonging to Deritend, became somewhat numerous, and in Elizabeth's reign there were seven families of the name in Birmingham. The main stock were smiths or cutlers, working the blade mill on the Rhea. The story related by Hutton that John Cooper, of the Talbot, High Street (temp. Henry VIII.) obtained privileges for bull baiting, and founded a charity for making lovedays, will not bear examination. The Talbot was in Spicer or Mercer Street, and there the Coopers lived a century later, obtaining some easement rights from the lord of the manor, confirmed by royal letters patent, an enormous document recording proceedings in the Exchequer, which is now in my possession. This was probably the origin of the bull-baiting tradition. "The Loveday Croft Gift" was an extract from St. Martin's Church Tables. The land bore the name of "Lovedaye Croft," but the trust was for "the releyffe of poore people, and for "the reparyng and amending of brydges and higheways." The name of Cooper is very ancient in the neighbourhood, dating back for six centuries.

Of the Foxalls, the earliest—one Roger—became a tanner in Digbeth ; he was High Bailiff in 1518. During a career of nearly three centuries they

remained faithful to one spot, taking a leading part in all public affairs; finally reverses came upon them, and all their Birmingham properties were sold.

The various changes which were effected in Birmingham during the sixteenth century resulted in such full and complete records of the inhabitants of the town, that a short notice only need be here given of leading names. The attainder of Edward Byrmyngham and the regrant of his estates; the dissolution of the Guilds and Religious Houses; the foundation of Lench's Trust, and other Charities; the establishment of the Free School; the subsequent manorial changes; the commencement of St. Martin's Church Registers, and various Subsidy and Taxation Rolls and Surveys, all combine to give clear, accurate, and reliable information as to the town and its people during the sixteenth century. A concise notice, therefore, of some of the principal names is all that is needed.

The Rastells, chiefly drapers, acquired the large estate from Sandpits to Frederick Street and Warstone (Horestone) Lane.

The Kings, by trade Fullers and Yronmongers, were a leading family William Kynge, 1525, was of Digbeth (Well Street): his grandson, William Kinge, Ironmonger, son of John the Fuller, contributed £25 for defence of the Kingdom against Spanish Invasion, the only other Birmingham contributors being William Collmer and John Ward.

The Booths became eminent as Lawyers, and retired from the town. In Queen Mary's reign William Booth was a resident Knight; he was written *Miles*, his brother, George Booth, bearing the same addition. William was an especially large holder of land.

The Littletons, doubtless relations of Mrs. Edward Birmingham, had considerable holdings, and long lived in the town, one filling the post of Chief Steward, whilst another was Clerk and Under Schoolmaster.

The Askerics appear to have settled in the town shortly before the marriage of William with Elizabeth, widow of Edward Birmingham (since Ludford). He and his wife held largely of the Manorial Estate, including the Manor House and Holme Park, the Malt Mill, the Corn Mill, &c.; he was therefore the Town Miller, and doubtless lived in the old home of the Birminghams. He was one of the first Governors of the Free School. The death of this sometime Lady of the Manor took place in 1559. It was one of her husband's descendants who defended an action at law with Thomas Holte, of Duddeston, for publicly declaring that Holte had killed his Cook. (See Davidson's "History of the Holts." The Askerics were early in the next century living at Hay Mills.

Robert Swyft and his wife were members of Knoll Guild, 1469. A century later this family had, chiefly in the person of Richard Swift, advanced to a

prominent position. He held property in Dale End, English Market, and the Dudwall; was also a first Governor of the School, and held other public appointments.

The Symondes, long connected with the town, were ultimately leading lawyers; Humphrey and William acting for the Lords of Birmingham and Bordesley as lawyers, stewards, receivers, &c. William Symondes was called *armiger* and sometimes counsellor. They held various town properties and a rabbit warren on the heath.

The Sedgwicks also held various public appointments throughout the century, but were occupiers and owners during more than fifty years of the "Old Bull" in Chapel Street. This house eventually passed to the Holtes, with whom the Sedgwicks appear to have had business connections.

The Jennings, Jenings, or Jennens first settled in the town as victuallers (though probably descended of an ancient Erdington family). In Elizabeth's reign William Jennens was described as an innkeeper. He married Johanna Elliott, of the Elliotts or Elyats of the Welch End, from whom Anne Hyde the Queen of James II., is said to be descended.

The Jennens speedily acquired wealth, taking a leading position in the iron trade at Aston Furnace and elsewhere. John Jennens built the great house in Rother Market, its open lawn fronting that street. His son Humphry retired to Erdington Hall, and the lawn was built upon; the houses and the old family mansion are still standing.

This Jennens, described as Esquire of Bromesham, was one of the selected knights of the intended Order of the Royal Oak (Class 2), and he it was who, there being no old representative family in the town, paid the cost of the "View of Birmingham" in "Dugdale's Warwickshire," which testifies to the beauty and salubrity of his native place. The family became very numerous, and its wealth almost boundless; the Birmingham estates are now held by Earl Howe.

The Spooners came to Birmingham about Mary's time, probably from Stratford-upon-Avon or Alcester. A long and prosperous career as ironmasters in Edgbaston Street, and as early bankers before the establishment of any proper banking house, ultimately resulted in the marriage of Isaac Spooner with the daughter of Sir Henry Gough, Bart., of Edgbaston, their son, Richard, becoming the parliamentary representative of his native town.

The Veseys are mainly noted for the lengthened period during which their principal representative, John Vesey, Yeoman, served the town he lived in at the lower end of Bull Street, his dwelling being called the New House, but from the number of his ownerships and holdings of lands, sheepfolds, barns, etc., etc., he must have been an extensive sheep farmer. For fifty years, 1540-1590, he was a leading public man of the town; he died 1593.

The Gests or Guests lived at the Toll Booth, afterwards called the Leather Hall. They appear to have become prosperous during this century, and among other properties acquired half the Cherry Orchards, long after known as Guest's Cherry Orchards.

The Redhills, Pepwalls, Billingsleys, and Prettys were among the prominent and prosperous townsfolk, as were also the Whitalls, Severnes, Coopers, and Carters among the Tanners, the latter giving the name to a bridge in Moor Street called Carter's Bridge. The Elsons, Ellyats, Coxes, Spooners, Wigsteds, Rottons, Fetherstons, Bodgies, Pembertons, and Sheldons were also prominent Birmingham people during Elizabeth's reign, many of them becoming more so in the next century.

The following is the most complete list I am able to give of townsmen who attained the highest honour of the community, that of *Magister Gilde Sancte Crucis de Bermyngeham* :—

1426. William Rydware.
1437. John Belle.
1481. Henry Chesshire.
1483. John Lenche.
1484. John Byrde.
1493. John Lyddiate.
1501. Roger Byrde.
1507. Thomas Belle.
1517. William Russell.
1524. John Locok.
1540. Humfrey Colchester.

Wandering Life in England in the Fourteenth Century.

[SECOND PAPER.]

By Dr. M. J. JUSSERAND.

Contributed to the "Revue Historique," for July—August, 1882.

Translated and submitted to the Archæological Section

By the Rev. J. O. BEVAN, M.A., F.G.S.

December 17th, 1884.

IT will be within the recollection of some of the Members of the Section that I contributed the first two parts of the above-mentioned paper to the Section some months ago. It remains to submit the third and concluding portion. Before, however, I enter upon this it might be desirable to present a brief resumé of the contents of the earlier parts. These might thus be summarised. M. Jusserand dwells, first of all, on the routes of mediæval England; on the roads and bridges; on their general condition, and the methods and persons employed to keep them in repair; on the ale-stakes with their long projecting rods, crowned with the familiar bush of the inns, where the inmates paid about a halfpenny a night for lodging; and the monasteries, where the very poor or the very rich alone found shelter. Then having drawn the *mise-en-scène*, he describes for us the human beings who frequented these roads and bridle paths in Chaucer's century;—the historical originals of the Canterbury Pilgrims. First in order comes the King himself, travelling incessantly from manor to manor and town to town, surrounded by his purveyors (who plundered the country people in spite of all statutes to the contrary), and administering justice—through his seneschal—at every halt.

After the King, the nobles, either travelling in attendance upon him, or making their way from one of their manors to another; in obedience to that policy of subdivision which had guided the gifts of the Conqueror to his Norman followers. These rode on horseback mostly, but for ladies and invalids there were magnificent lumbering carriages, painted without and tapestried within, like the famous "char" of Lady Eleanor, Edward the third's sister, for which £1,000 was paid in 1333—an enormous sum for those days. Mingled with the crowd of nobles and courtiers came the merchants and clerks, well armed; the monks in their handsome travelling dress, as Chaucer has described it to us; and last, but by no means least, the high ecclesiastics, bishops and archhishops, who travelled with almost as great a following as the King himself; and whose exactions from their clergy in their diocesan progresses had to be constantly checked and watched throughout the middle ages. Hovering in the skirts of these legitimate travellers M. Jusserand shows us the mediæval highwayman, both of high and of low degrees, aristocratic robbers like Robert de Rideware and Sir Jehan d'Oddyngesles, who plundered the merchants of Lichfield of their spices in 1342, and so terrorised them afterwards with land-league cunning and ferocity as to make it almost impossible for them to bring their grievances before the law; and the bands of vulgar hunger-stricken thieves, the peculiar product of a civilisation half barbarous as yet, in spite of the brilliant promise in it of better things. M. Jusserand has many curious things to tell us of the right of asylum based upon the documents of the time. The felon who took refuge in a church was offered a chance of life and liberty if he "forswore England," *i.e.*, if he consented at once to leave the country. The oath he made is given at length. Then this same felon, clothed *in pura tunica*—as though he were going to the scaffold, and holding a cross in his hand, a token to all the world—was driven forth from his hiding place, and from the realm of England. The essay concludes with a description of certain incidents supposed to be connected with the raising the hue and cry in the pursuit of a suspected criminal.

PART III.

THE SECURITY OF THE ROADS.

Were these roads safe?—these roads which were traversed in every part and in every sense of the word by the King and the Lords going from one manor to another; by tradesmen going to the fairs, markets, or warehouses; and where, at intervals, was heard the creaking of the waggon of the merchant and the coach of the noble.

A theoretical examination of the laws, and of the manner in which the county police and the defence of cities were organised, would lead one to infer that there were plenty of precautions taken to prevent crime, and that journeys

were not more dangerous than they are in the present day. If we also add, as Thorold Rogers states, that there was a service of coaches regularly running between London, Oxford, Winchester, Newcastle, &c., and that the cost of conveyance was not very great, one might be persuaded that the highways were perfectly safe; but we should be mistaken. Neither must we therefore conclude, as some do, judging from historical novels, that we should find brigands in every thicket, persons hanged on every tree, or plundering nobles on the banks of every stream. Only we must make allowance for accidents. Accidents played a more important part in the fourteenth century than at any other period. It was now that modern life commenced, and partial rays of a better state of civilisation had just changed the whole social system. Confidence was more firmly established, men fortified their dwellings to a less extent, the battlemented castle gave place to the villa or mansion, whilst hovels became houses. The authorities took greater precautions than formerly to prevent misdeeds, but numerous accidents came to disturb the new-born feeling of security. The heart of society was neither calm nor well settled, and many of its members were still half savage. You may take this term literally; that is, if a list were made of the qualities of any one individual it would be found that one part belonged to a high state of civilisation and the other to a state of barbarism. Hence these anomalies. On the one hand, order (which, perhaps, it would be unjust not to regard as the normal condition), and, on the other hand, its frequent subversion by the wilder element; such, *e.g.*, as is shown us by the contemplation of a noble and his retainers waiting at a corner of a highway for a party of merchants. An account of such is transferred to the pages of the "Archæological Journal," Vol. IV., p. 69. The text of the victims' petition gives all the details of the encounter. This happened in 1342. Here it is:—Some Lichfield merchants inform their lord, the Earl of Arundel, that on a certain Friday they sent two servants and horses laden with spices and haberdashery of the value of £40 to Stafford for the next day's market. When their people came just above 'Canok's Wood' they met Sir Robert de Rideware, knight, who lay in wait for them, together with two of his footmen, and who seized servants, horses, and booty to convey the whole to Lappesley Priory. Unfortunately for him, one of the servants escaped. At the Priory, the gang found Sir John d'Oddyngesles, Esmond d'Oddyngesles, besides several other knights and attendants. We see then that this was a planned and carefully executed attack; everything was carried out in an orderly way. "They shared amongst them all the "aforesaid haberdashery and spices; to each his portion according to his rank." *That* accomplished, the party left Lappesley and rode to Blythebury Priory, which was a nunnery. Sir Robert told the Abbess that they were servants of the King, and asked hospitality, as was the custom, without fear of being denied. But the band seem to have had a sinister appearance, and the Abbess refused.

The Knights, thus badly received, forced the doors of the outhouses, and gave "beans and oats" to their horses, and so passed the night. But they were not the only ones who had made the best use of their time. The escaped servant had followed at a distance, and when he saw them housed at the Priory he came back full speed to Lichfield to warn the bailiff, who hastened to assemble his company and to give chase to the marauders. As soon as the latter were overtaken, they, being soldiers, turned to defend themselves, and a regular battle ensued, in which, at first, they had the advantage, wounding several of their opponents. At last, however, they lost ground and fled; all the spices were recovered, while four men of the company, being captured, were then and there beheaded. Robert de Rideware was not one of the victims, so was nothing daunted. Whilst the bailiff was returning to Lichfield, Robert met his kinsman, Gautier de Rideware—Lord of Helmstale-Rideware—and his followers. They all incontinently turned back and gave chase to the bailiff. Another encounter took place. This time the representative of justice was worsted and fled, the spices finally remaining in the hands of the victors.

What resource remained to the unhappy petitioners? To appeal to justice? Exactly what they desired to do. But when they repaired for that purpose to Stafford, the capital of the county, they found at the city gates the retainers of their persecutors, who barred the way and attacked them even with such right good will that they had great difficulty in escaping without broken heads. They returned to Lichfield, dogged by their enemies, and compelled thus to lead a pitiable existence. "And, Sire, the aforesaid William and Richard, and "several of the townsfolk of Lichfield, are threatened by the said thieves and "their retainers, so that they dare not venture at all out of the said town." This legal document, the original of which still exists, is, as we observe, sufficiently characteristic; and we can also see that these lords and their retainers somewhat resemble those in *I Promessi Sposi* and their terrible bravoes. Here nearly every feature is noticeable—the coolness and determination of the knights, who were not baffled at the death of four of their number, the attack under cover of the wood, the choice of the prey, the menservants and wealth of the merchants, the hospitality demanded at a priory under pretence of being King's messengers, the prompt justice rendered by the bailiff, and the strict watch kept over the movements of the victims by their tyrants.

This was no isolated case, and Robert de Rideware was not the only robber who lay in wait in copses along the highways. Many a lord, like unto him, was surrounded by men ready and willing to carry out any kind of adventure. They were supplied with cloaks and liveries of their master's colours, which made them easily recognisable. A noble, well surrounded by partisans, thought himself above common law; and justice had not a fair

chance of making him respect it. This custom, which became general towards the end of Edward III.'s reign, lingered (contrary to the statutes) during the whole of the fifteenth century, and largely contributed to render the civil wars of that period so desperate and sanguinary.*

But even when there was no civil war, the misdeeds committed by certain nobles and their followers, or even their retainers acting on their own account, under cover of their master's livery, were sometimes so frequent and serious that many counties might have been thought to be in a state of war. The preamble to a statute of the second year of Richard II. ("Statutes of the Realm," Statute I., cap. 6) gives perhaps a rather exaggerated picture of these divisions, the better to justify rigorous measures. They must, however, have had some foundation in fact. "Item—because our lord the King has heard from many complaints "made to him, as well as by the notoriety of the thing, that several subjects of "our lord the King, in various parts of the kingdom, together with the people of "Wales in the county of Hereford, and the people of the county of Cheshire in the "counties joining Cheshire, *any* of them claiming to have a right to the various "lands, houses, and other possessions, and *any* spying out ladies and young "unmarried gentlewomen; and *any* wishing to keep retainers in their marches, "gather together with a great number of armed men and warlike archers, and "are allied by oath and by other confederacy, neither having regard for God "nor the laws of the Holy Church and of the realm; nor equity, nor justice; "both refusing and neglecting all law suits, ride on the highways in many "parts of England, and take possession, and establish themselves also in divers "manor lands and other possessions in their own authority, and keep them for "a length of time by force, making there much warlike display; and in some "parts capture ladies and unmarried gentlewomen and take them to strange "countries, as it pleases them; and in many places and divers highways lie in "wait and fight desperately, and injure and kill people to obtain their wives and "goods, which wives and goods they keep for their own purposes, and both take "by force the King's subjects in their own dwellings and carry them off, and "detain them as prisoners; and, above all, exacting fines and ransoms, as if "the country were in a state of warfare; and come all together before Judges "in session, in such a manner and with such a force that the Judges are much

* Richard II. had to renew and confirm these statutes several times, but without much effect. In his first statute on this subject, it is distinctly stated that even rather poor men delighted in the luxury of retainers:—"Because several persons of very small estate, income, or other possessions, have large "retinues of men, esquires, as well as others, in several parts of the kingdom . . . . ." (1 Richard II., c. 7.) The third statute of the thirteenth year of Richard II., that of the sixteenth year, and that of the twentieth, are all equally directed against the abuse of liveries, and the number of partisans of "spiritual and temporal lords." ("Statutes of the Realm.") Henry VI. uselessly renewed these statutes.

"aghast, and dare not execute the law; and do several other riotous and "dreadful misdeeds by which the kingdom in divers parts is put to great "trouble, to the great mischief and ruin of poor people."

At the Good Parliament in 1376 the Commons had already made similar petitions:—"Item—the Commons entreat that as now great Riot is again "commenced by divers persons in several parts of England who ride with a "great number of armed men, &c."*

The picture the above statute conveys is sufficiently complete without its being necessary to instance any other authority. In petitions addressed to Parliament there are numerous complaints from private individuals of acts of violence of which they had been the victims, of their imprisonment by enemies, of thefts, of cases of arson, of destruction of game, or fish preserves, *e.g.*:—The petitions of Agnes d'Aldenby, from whom a ransom was extorted by evildoers (Bk. I., p. 375); of Agnes atte Woode, beaten together with her son, and ransomed; of the inhabitants of several towns in the county of Hereford, who had been imprisoned and subjected to the exaction of ransoms by Sir John de Palmer (Bk. I., p. 389); of John de Grey, who was attacked by fifteen robbers, resolved on setting fire to a town, and storming a castle (p. 397); of Robert Power, who was put to ransom, and his castle sacked, his servants beaten by men, all armed like soldiers (p. 410); of Ralph de Botiller, who had seen his castle pillaged and burnt by eighty men, come for that purpose with arms and stores, carrying ropes and axes on waggons, &c. (Bk. II., p. 88). In France, be it well understood, misdeeds of this kind were much more numerous, but then France was in a perpetual state of war.

Side by side with these organised and almost baronial bands, there were the ordinary thieves; against whom Edward I. had enacted special measures in the statute of Winchester. It is stated in this Act, that robbers were accustomed to crouch in ditches, copses, or bushes near the highway, especially those that united two large towns. In fact, this was the place that easy-going and richly-laden victims would pass. Therefore the King commands that the borders of the great highways should be cleared for a distance of 200 feet on each side; so that no copse, hollow, bush, nor ditch that could shelter the criminals might remain. The owner of the land had to perform this duty. If he neglected it, he should be held responsible for the thefts and murders, and should pay a fine to the King. If the road crossed a park, the lord was compelled to do likewise, unless he agreed to enclose it by a wall or hedge so thick, or ditch so wide, that the thieves could not clear them or find shelter there before or after their attacks. But as we come to the 14th century, we find that the common thieves have discovered a better use for their energies, without altogether changing

* Rolls of Parliament, Bk. II., p. 351.

their condition. Either secretly or openly, they joined some nobleman's band, becoming thenceforth no longer vagrants for whom no one is responsible. This the Commons again complained of. *E.g.*, "Item—the said Commons pray that as it is notoriously known in every county of England that robbers, thieves, and other evildoers on foot and horseback go and ride on highways throughout the land in various places, committing larceny and robbery:—that it please our lord the King to command the great landowners that none such be maintained by them, privately or openly, but that they assist to arrest and take such rascals." (Rolls of Parliament, Bk. II., p. 201; 22 Ed. III., 1348.) The same complaints had already been made in the preceding Parliament, and the King had promised that he would decree "such remedy as shall be pleasing to God and man." (Rolls of Par., Bk. II., p. 165.)

All these criminals, even not counting the support of the great, had fine privileges. Some were to be met along the roads with a cross in their hands. These were forbidden to be harmed either by the King or the Church. They were men who had forsworn the Kingdom. When a thief, murderer, or any other felon felt himself too closely pressed, he rushed into a church and found safety. The church was holy ground, and whoever had crossed its threshold was covered with God's protection. To drag anyone thence was a sacrilege punishable by excommunication. Nicholas le Porter had helped to force from the Church of the Carmelites, at Newcastle, some laymen who had taken refuge there, "pro vitae suae securitate;" and who, when once given over to civil authority, had been executed.

In order to obtain pardon he was obliged to employ the intercession of the Papal Nuncio, and to submit to a public penance not in accordance with the customs of the present day.

"We command," wrote the Bishop Richard to the Vicar of St. Nicholas of Durham, "that on the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of the coming Whit-"suntide, he go to receive, in his shirt, with bare head and feet, before the door "of your church, in the presence of the assembled people, the whip from your "hands and in public. He himself shall there proclaim in English the cause of "his penance and acknowledge his fault; and, when he shall have been thus "whipped, the said Nicholas shall go to the cathedral church of Durham, with "bare head and feet, dressed as above. He shall walk first, and you shall follow, "and shall whip him as before at the door of the cathedral, these same three "days, and he shall again begin the declarations that I have said." (Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense; ed. by Sir T. D. Hardy, London, 1873, 4 vols. 8vo, Bk. I., p. 315, year 1313.)

Penances of the kind referred to above were not imposed on men only. Women of every condition were obliged to submit to them. In this same register of the Durham Palatinate, there is the case of Isabella de Murley,

condemned for adultery with John d'Amundeville, her sister's husband, to receive publicly "six whippings around the market place of Durham." (Bk. II., p. 695.)

To robbers the right of sanctuary was very valuable. They escaped from prison, fled to a church, and saved their lives. "In this year," the 18th of Edward II., says the Chronicles of London, "ten persons escaped from "Newgate, five of them were brought back, four escaped to the Church of St. "Sepulchre, and one to Saint Bride's, and afterwards they all forswore England."

But when the unfortunates were kept in the church by their personal enemies their situation became dangerous. This is shown in Statutes of the Realm, years 1315-1316. The authors of a petition explain to the King that armed men stationed themselves in the churchyard and even in the church to watch the fugitive, and guarded him so narrowly that he could not leave it even to fulfil his natural requirements. They prevented the conveyance to him of food, and if he made up his mind to forswear the kingdom, his enemies followed him on the road, and notwithstanding the protection of the law, dragged him thence and beheaded him without trial.*

The King reformed all these abuses † and ordered the employment of the old regulations about abjuration, which were as follows:—"When a thief, "homicide, or any criminal whatsoever, has fled to a church and that he has "acknowledged his crime, the coroner may cause him to make a solemn "renunciation thus:—The felon shall be conducted to the door of the church, "and a neighbouring or other port shall be assigned to him, and a time fixed for "leaving the kingdom. As long as he shall be on the way, he shall hold in his "hand a cross, and shall not depart from the highway either to the right hand or "the left, but shall follow it until he shall have quitted the kingdom, to which he "shall not return unless the King have pardoned him." ‡

The felon swore in these words:—"Hear this, sir coroner, I, N., have stolen "[sheep, or such other animals], or I have killed [one or several persons], and I am "a felon to our lord the King of England. And for having committed a quantity

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* Articuli Cleri, 9 Ed. II., ch. 10; Statutes of the Realm. It was necessary to be careful to take refuge in a real church, properly consecrated. This is shown in the Reports entered in the Year Books. There is a case in the time of Edward I. (Horwood Edition—Collection of the Master of the Rolls.)

† The watchers are forbidden to remain in the churchyard unless there be danger of immediate flight. The felon is permitted to have in the church the necessaries of life, and free egress from it "pro obsceno pondere deponendo."

‡ Statutes of the Realm, Bk. I., p. 250. The date of the text is uncertain, but it belongs probably to the reign of Edward II. According to Fleta, if the criminals had not forsworn the kingdom at the end of forty days' asylum, they were to be refused all food, and no longer allowed to abjure. According to the same authority, while on the journey, the felon wore a costume by which he might be known. He was required "to be ungirt, bare-footed, bare-headed, clad in an open tunic or smock, as if he were about "to be led to the scaffold, and moreover with a cross in his hands, in full view of all."

"of crimes, robberies, &c., in this land, I adjure the land of our lord, Edward "King of England. And I will hasten to such a port as thou hast assigned me; "I will not leave the high road, and if I do so, I consent to be taken and treated "as a robber and a felon of our lord the King. In such a port I will seek "earnestly to pass over sea, and will only remain there the space of one tide if I "can obtain a passage; and if I cannot find a passage, during the delay I will go "every day into the sea up to my knees, trying to pass over, and if I cannot do "so at the end of forty days I will return to a church as a thief and a felon of "our lord the King. Et sic Deus me adjuvet!" (Translated from the Latin of Fleta, Bk. I., cap. 29, and the Statutes of the Realm, Bk. I., p. 250.)

In the churches, thieves had for their companions insolvent debtors. The latter, before taking sanctuary, had made a general distribution of all their belongings in the shape of gifts; and the creditors, who vainly sued them at law, found that they had no hold upon them. In 1379 Richard remedied this grievance. Once a week for five weeks the debtor was to be summoned by a proclamation made at the door of the sanctuary to appear personally or by attorney before the King's judges. If at the end he still held out they were to take proceedings; judgment should be pronounced, and the goods that he had given away were to be divided among his creditors.*

An ecclesiastic who took sanctuary was not compelled to leave England. He swore that he was of the clergy, and possessed the ecclesiastical privilege according to the commendable custom of the country. But the church that granted to all comers the benefit of asylum reserved to itself the power of retracting it.

In the fourteenth year of Edward II., a woman named Isabella de Bury killed a priest of All Saints' Church, near London Wall, and remained in that same church for five days, so that the Bishop of London issued a mandate that the church did not wish to protect her, wherefore she was conducted from the church to Newgate and, on the third day, was hanged. ("London Chronicles," 1844, 4to, Camden Society, p. 42.)

At this time, when riots and revolutions were not unusual, the right of sanctuary might prove serviceable to each and all at one period or another. It was quite useless, therefore, for Wycliffe to protest against it, or to demand

* Statutes of the Realm, 2 Rich. II., cap. 3. These frauds had been already complained of in the reign of Ed. III. A petition of the Commons in the Parliament of 1376—77 (Rot. Parl., Bk. II., p. 369) states that certain persons after having received on loan money or goods pretended to make a deed of gift of all their property to friends, flee to the Church of St. Martin's, Westminster, or any other such privileged place, and there abide for a long time, so that the said creditors shall be bound to take a small part of their debt and remit the rest. Then the debtors returned to their homes, and their friends gave them back all their goods.

its suppression. Even a bishop, notwithstanding the sanctity of his person, might find himself compelled to put spurs to his horse and flee to a church to save his head. This was the case with the Bishop of Exeter, when Isabella and her son came to depose Edward II. "Very early the same day, came one Lord "Walter de Stapulton, who was bishop of Exeter and, in the previous year, "King's treasurer—riding towards his mansion of Eldedeaneslane to his living; "and was there proclaimed traitor; seeing which, he took flight on horseback "towards St. Paul's Church and was there met and unhorsed. Being led forward "in his cope, he next was stripped, and his head cut off." ("Lon. Chron.")

But really the right of sanctuary was for thieves. Churches were numerous, and the protection they afforded for all comers increased the chances of the escape of criminals from justice. The traveller had to provide for a possible encounter, and therefore to arm himself with care. This was an acknowledged necessity, wherefore the Chancellor of Oxford forbade the carrying of arms except in case of journeys.*

With all their penal severity, law and custom gave still further encouragement to evildoers. They were frequently granted charters of pardon. The royal Court of Chancery bestowed them freely, because it was obligatory that they should be paid for. The Commons were constantly complaining of these notorious abuses. It is certain that these charters were sold. John Crochille, clerk, makes a statement to the King in Parliament, that whilst he had been at the court of Rome, he had been outlawed, and on his return imprisoned. The Chancellor had granted him a charter of pardon; "but he is so impoverished "that he has not wherewith to pay for the aforesaid pardon." (Rot. Par., 21 Ed. III., Bk. II., p. 178.) (See also the petition of the Commons in 1350-1.)

The charters were bestowed both on innocent persons and on common felons and murderers alike—for money. This produced two results: First, the number of brigands increased, because of the impunity; next, no one dared to bring the most formidable criminals to justice for fear of seeing them return pardoned and ready to take a terrible revenge.

Unfortunately, the evil was continued by the support of the barons, as well as by the profit of the fees collected. Surrounded by their men, the nobles knew how to protect them from the law, as the latter protected their masters in the streets and highways, and the best way to preserve them from the consequences of any assassination was to obtain and purchase for them a charter of pardon. This the Commons very well knew, and reminded the King that certain nobles—patrons of rascals—had often obtained charters for them by

* Regulation of 1313 A.D., "Munimenta Academica," or documents illustrative of academical life and studies at Oxford. Edited by H. Austey, London, 1868, 2 vols. Collection of the Master of the Rolls. Bk. I., p. 91. The penalty was imprisonment and loss of the arms.

declaring that they were abroad, fighting for their King. The charter obtained, the brigands returned, without the slightest fear of being hindered by anyone.*

So one was scarcely safe from robbers, or even from the sheriff's officers. At this distrustful period, when prowlers were so numerous, it was quite enough to be a stranger in the country, especially if it were night, to be sent to gaol on suspicion, as is seen by a statute of Edward III. (fifth year, cap 14). Nothing could be more general than the terms of this order, and the power of arrest is nearly unlimited. "Item—as is contained in the statute of Winchester in the "time of the present King's grandfather (Edward I.) it be continued that if any "stranger pass through the country at night, of whom there be suspicion, he be "then arrested and delivered to the viscount, and remanded in custody till he "be duly released; and since sundry robberies, homicides, and felonies have "been committed at such hours by persons who are called Roberdsesmen, "Wastours, Draghlacches . . ."

So, whoever suspected a passer-by to belong to one of these gangs, "were it by day or night," shall have him arrested immediately. He shall be taken to the constable of the nearest town, who shall keep him in prison, and make enquiry while waiting the judge's coming. Suppose now that a stranger passes through a town by night; the guard attempts to arrest him; he already imagines himself in prison "till the judge come." He begins to run away, instead of allowing himself to be taken—the statute has provided for the case. Thus:—"If they do not suffer themselves to be arrested, let the hue and cry "be raised and the watch follow them, and all the town, together with the "neighbouring towns, at the hue and cry from town to town, till they shall be "taken and delivered over to the viscount." What a scene! It is the middle of the night, the stranger is perhaps a thief, perhaps an honest man who has lost his way, not knowing the town. His crime is that he is not housed at curfew. He is groping his way in the dark lanes; the guard espies him and challenges him. He makes the reflections we have before noticed, and so the hue and cry commences;—the guard runs—the town awakens—lights appear, and little by little the more zealous are in full chase. If the town be a fortified one, the gates are long ago shut, and he will be surely taken. His only hope is to rush through some half-open door at a turn in the road, and to cower behind it,

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* Because our lord the King, in consequence of representations apparently true, has many times granted his charter of pardon to notorious thieves and common murderers, having been given to understand that they were staying abroad in his wars beyond the sea; whereas they have suddenly returned to their country to continue in their misdeeds. The King ordered that in the charters the name of him who made the suggestion to the King should be entered, and the judges before whom this charter shall be presented by the felons to obtain their liberty shall have the power of making enquiry, and if they find that the suggestion is without grounds, they shall consider the charter void. (Rot. Par., Bk. II., p. 253, an. 1353.)

listening with trembling frame and beating heart to the guard passing heavily at quick step, accompanied—as with a cloud—by furious outcries. The number of footsteps decreases, and the shouts are heard less clearly, and then die away lost in the depths of the city. But if the town be only a small unenclosed market town, the first movement of the fugitive will be to reach the open country. Then let him not mind the marshes, ditches, and hedges. He must know how to leave the highway—to strike across country and take advantage of a part where the statute of Winchester shall be badly administered, otherwise he is lost! The guard and rabble follow him, the shouting continues, and at the next village the scene of commotion is re-enacted. The inhabitants, warned by the noise, light their lanterns, and immediately join in the chase. Before the end of the High Street, some peasant, more alert than the others, will be ready to bar the way. Each man is interested in it—all have been robbed, or have relatives or friends who have suffered. Some of their people, it may be, have been wounded or murdered on their way from market.

Everyone has heard of such mishaps, and feels himself personally threatened. Whence this zeal to rush forward at the sound of the hue and cry, and the conviction that because the fugitives race so fast, and make everyone else run, they must be formidable brigands whom the gallows awaits.

The power of attacking thus the first comer was like a number of other rights of this period, at once a guarantee of the public safety, and a dangerous weapon in the felons' hands. Robbers made use of it, and it sometimes happened that they, by this means, imprisoned their own victims. Alisot, wife of Henry de Upatherle, certified the King that her husband had been taken prisoner by the Scotch at the battle of Stirling, and remained a captive for more than a year, when he returned, after having paid a ransom of £40. In his absence, Thomas de Upatherle and Robert de Prestbury seized the property he possessed at Upatherle and divided it between them, pulled down houses, and acted just as if they were the owners, carrying off all the property they could. The return of the prisoner came to surprise them; as soon as they knew he had appeared on his estate, "the said Thomas by false conspiracy between him and "the said Robert raised the hue and cry after the said Henry, accused him of "having stolen from him £100 worth of goods. They were believed, the said "Henry was taken and imprisoned in the Castle of Gloucester for a long time," waiting the coming of the judges, exactly as the statute directs. Henry finally obtained his liberty, and a warrant against his enemies; but the latter, forewarned, came to meet their victim, "and assaulted the said Henry in the town of "Gloucester, that is to say, broke his arms, his two thighs, and his two legs, and "each side of his head, and wrecked and vilely treated his whole body, so that he "with great difficulty escaped death." The King's reply is scarcely satisfactory. "If the baron, the husband, be living, he should make the complaint—if he be "dead, the wife's petition is null and void." (Rot. Par., Bk. II., page 35, year 1330.)

Excursions, 1884.

HEREFORD AND THE GOLDEN VALLEY.

May 27th and 28th.

EAVING New Street at 4.45, by Midland Railway, thirty members and friends journeyed to Hereford, where they passed the night, and early the next morning began the proceedings of the day with a visit to the Cathedral. Leaving Hereford at 9.40, by the Hereford and Abergavenny Railway, Pontrilas was soon reached. The party here changed to the Golden Valley Railway, a single line, on which run carriages of the Swiss pattern, with open balconies at each end. In this charming valley the soft and verdant Herefordshire scenery, especially at this time of the year, when the hawthorn and the apple blossoms are at their best, is seen to perfection; the little flower-fringed and winding River Dore adding a quiet charm to the lowland. A short run brought the train to Abbey Dore, where the visitors alighted, and soon found themselves within the immediate precincts of the time-worn and venerable church. This is but a fragment of what must have been a noble and imposing Cistercian abbey of the very beginning of the 13th century. It is now extremely beautiful, and it derives an additional charm from the lovely scenery with which it is surrounded. Founded in 1135 by Robert, Earl of Ferrars, it appears to have been built and completed, so far as can now be seen, in the time of King John, and in the same style throughout. After the suppression of monasteries it was dismantled, and the materials sold—the nave disappearing, with the exception of one arch, and the vaulting of the choir entirely. The lands and what remained of the buildings were then

granted to John Scudamore, and in the 13th of Charles II. an Act was granted to this John Scudamore for its repair. He re-roofed the choir and transepts, built a tower, and re-dedicated the buildings for the purposes of a parish church. This now remains much as he left it, except that time has softened the outlines and mellowed the colours of the parts he added into harmony with the original work. It now consists of a choir, arches, which are continued across the east end, thus forming an ambulatory, and the transepts; the whole affording an unsurpassed example of the transition from the Norman to the Early English style, which latter it very nearly approaches. The piers and jambs are enriched by slender shafts, with carved capitals, of which no two are alike; and the division of the bays is well marked by triple shafts, the capitals of which once carried the ribs of the vaulting. The ambulatory has been divided along the whole of the eastern end into chapels, and the greater part of the length on both sides has also had altars. All this part retains its original quadripartite vaulting, and is graceful and beautiful in its general proportions and details. The eastern end of the choir is an extremely graceful composition, with triple arches opening to the ambulatory, and surmounted by tall lancet windows, deeply recessed, with slender shafts. These windows retain a quantity of old stained glass, which has been re-leaded and mixed with modern glass. The roof, of the 17th century, is rude, and has been partially mutilated. An oak screen extends across the easternmost arch of the crossing, of probably the same date as the roof, and of heavy and somewhat coarse design; and at the west end is an oak gallery, with columns and surface carvings, apparently of the same period. The monumental remains, dating from before the suppression, are but few. There are two much-mutilated cross-legged effigies of knights with chain armour and pointed shields. These are supposed to be of Robert de Ewass, founder of the abbey, and of Sir Roger de Clifford, who was buried here. There is also an exceedingly curious diminutive effigy of a bishop, supposed to be John Bruton, a bishop of Hereford Cathedral, and an eminent lawyer of the time of Edward I. His heart is said to have been buried here, and it is generally supposed that these diminutive effigies, of which but few exist, indicate that the heart (or possibly some other part) only of the person commemorated was laid where they are found.

The architecture of the exterior is extremely simple and severe. The windows of the aisles have mutilated gablets over them, which probably had separate roofs. A plain tower was added, built, at the time of the re-dedication, on the arches and walls forming the south-east angle of the transept and choir. The remains of the domestic buildings are only just enough to show that they occupied a large level site at the north side of the church, and some parts of what was probably the dormitory remain attached to the north end of the transept.

Reluctantly leaving this charming place, the visitors took their seats again in the train, and soon arrived at Peterchurch. After luncheon at the Boughton Arms, the church was visited. This has been restored so thoroughly as to look almost like a new building. It is nevertheless a Norman structure, the chief interest of which lies in the very unusual arrangement of the east end. A lofty Norman arch communicates with a square compartment of the chancel, which by another somewhat smaller and lower arch opens to a narrower part, and again by a further reduced arch to a gracefully-proportioned apse, to which the original massive altar stone has been restored. The details are of a plain character. At the west end is a noble tower and spire of the 14th century. In the churchyard is an enormous yew tree, probably as old as the church. Passing about four miles further on, Dorston was reached at the end of the valley, and a hasty visit made to the church, which was nearly rebuilt in the last century, and does not retain much of interest. On the way back to Hereford, Kilpeck Church and Castle were visited. The church here is probably the most perfect example of a Norman church in England, retaining a curious vaulted semicircular apse. The south door is a most remarkable example, elaborately carved with numberless fanciful devices, the jambs enriched with full-length figures, affording valuable examples of early costume. The chancel arch, and the corbel tables surrounding the building, are also curiously carved, and at the west end are enormous heads, apparently intended for those of crocodiles. A pause in the homeward journey was made at Hereford for dinner, after which the party returned to Birmingham, having had a most delightful and instructive excursion.

WALTON-ON-TRENT AND ALREWAS

June 28th.

This Saturday afternoon walk was attended by twenty-seven persons. Train was taken to Walton; and Barton Church, at about a mile from the railway station, was first visited.

This church was considered interesting as being wholly of the time of Henry VII., it having been built by John Taylor, Archdeacon of Derby and Buckingham, as is conspicuously recorded by inscriptions on square panels in the spandrils of the nave arcades and in other parts of the building. There is also reference to an interesting legend as to the building of the church.

The plan is symmetrical, comprising chancel, with semi-octagonal apse, nave, with north and south aisles, and a massive tower at the west end, on the north side of which is a curious carving in low relief, probably representing the subject of some legend, but much defaced. There are double sedilia with trefoil arches and a small piscina on the south side of the chancel, which might be mistaken for much earlier work. The east windows of the apse are filled with stained glass of the 15th century, in good condition, representing the crucifixion of our Lord, and full-length figures of the twelve apostles, with their proper symbols.

Returning by the same way and crossing the Trent, which is here a wide and beautiful river, Walton Church was next examined. This has chancel, nave, south transept, and south aisle of two bays, possessing some curious features, and a western tower. The church has been restored, but retains much that is interesting. The chancel is of the 13th century, but has been partially rebuilt. The transept is of the 14th century, and has good windows with curious corbel heads to the inner hood moulds, and triple sedilia and piscina. To the west of these, in the same wall, is the recumbent effigy of a priest, much mutilated, under a moulded pointed arch. On the chancel floor is a good brass to a priest of the 15th century, and within the rails of the sacrarium, several curious diminutive incised effigies of Thomas Clayton, his wives and children. There are also three large alabaster incised slabs on the floor of the transept bearing dates 1588 and 1598.

The walk now lay through the pleasant village of Walton, and by Calton Hall and park, to Croxall Church, where Bishop Staley was good enough to meet the visitors and act as their guide.

The church is uninteresting, having been almost entirely rebuilt in comparatively modern times, but there are some incised sepulchral slabs forming part of the pavement, well worthy of careful note, and many mural monuments, nearly all of which are of modern date.

Close to the churchyard, on the bank of a small river, is a remarkable Saxon mound or burg, with adjoining earthworks of small extent, but of considerable interest.

Taking leave of their courteous guide at Croxall Hall, the walk was continued to the village of Alrewas, which contains little of interest excepting the church. This consists of chancel, nave, western tower, and a south aisle which extends eastward beyond the end of the nave to form a chapel. Some parts of the tower and the north wall are of the Norman period. The north door is a good plain example of the 12th century, with moulded arch, and nook shafts with cushioned capitals. The western doorway is of the Transition period, with moulded arch and double shafted jambs. The door retains fragments of the original hinges, of very graceful design and good execution. The chancel is of

the Lancet period of the 13th century. The south aisle has been a good example of decorated work, but has suffered much from dilapidation and restoration. There are a good octagonal font of the 15th century, an interesting communion table of the 17th, and other interesting features in the church, which space will not permit us to describe fully. After tea at the George and Dragon Inn the party returned to Birmingham by train from Alrewas.

CHEPSTOW, TINTERN, RAGLAN AND ROSS.

24th, 25th, and 26th July.

The attendance at this excursion numbered thirty-two, including a large proportion of ladies.

Leaving Birmingham by the 2.50 train, Chepstow was reached soon after seven o'clock, and the visitors took up their quarters at the Beaufort Arms Hotel, the evening, after dinner, affording time for an enjoyable stroll through the interesting old town.

Next morning an inspection was made of Chepstow Castle, carriages being thence taken to Tintern Abbey. Each of these places is well known, and has been so often described that it will suffice to say that the visit afforded intense gratification, the more so as, with the exception of a local shower at Chepstow, the day was beautifully fine. Some of the party returned to Chepstow on foot through Piercefield Park, others by boat down the river (not without a narrow escape from stranding, the tide being low), whilst the remnant availed themselves of the carriages.

The following day's proceedings were interfered with by unfavourable weather. The early part of the drive from Chepstow to Raglan was very pleasant, but on reaching the castle the sky became overcast, and the inspection of the ruins was made under the somewhat dispiriting influence of impending rain. Luncheon was taken at the Beaufort Arms Inn, and the drive continued to Monmouth, where the carriages were dismissed. A cursory visit to the old chapel on the bridge and the two churches was all that time permitted, and train was taken for Symond's Yat, where other carriages were waiting for the conveyance of the party to Goodrich Castle and Ross.

Unfortunately the rain here came down heavily and with little cessation until nearing Ross, but this did not prevent some of the party from making

their way through the wet fields which separated the road from Goodrich Castle. The visit well repaid the inconvenience, and under more favourable conditions would have proved a most attractive item in the programme. On reaching Ross (much later than arranged, owing to bad roads and stoppages on account of the rain) but very little time was left to partake of the excellently served dinner provided at the Ross Arms Hotel. The return train left Ross soon after seven, and arrived in Birmingham, viâ Gloucester, about ten o'clock.

STONELEIGH AND KENILWORTH.

30th August.

The very successful and pleasant series of the year's excursions was concluded by a visit to Stoneleigh and Kenilworth. Leaving New Street Station at 1.10 in a saloon carriage, Kenilworth was reached at 2.30. The party then walked through fields and woods to the gates of Stoneleigh Park; then, skirting the park on the north to Stoneleigh village, the church, which is beautifully situated on the banks of the River Sow, claimed primary attention. The structure is composed of parts of many periods extending from the 12th to the 19th centuries. Of the earliest, or Norman period, there yet exists enough to show that here was once a small but very beautiful Norman church, with nave, double chancel, and western tower. Of this early structure there remains a very fine north doorway, on the tympanum of the arch of which are sculptured two rudely-designed lions. A small part of the Norman tower also remains, and the piers of what is apparently a fine arch between the tower and the nave, but now hidden by a gallery. The chancel arch is a remarkably rich specimen of the architecture of the 12th century, the shafted piers and the several rings of the arch being profusely enriched with the chevron, billet, and other characteristic Norman ornaments. The oldest monument in the church is that of a priest—probably of the 14th century—whose recumbent effigy lies just within the chancel arch. On each side of the chancel are modern mortuary chapels, and on the south side of the chancel a beautifully-designed and executed altar tomb in alabaster, within a groined recess, has recently been erected. On the north side of the chancel is a very large and costly monument of black and white marble, with effigies of Lady Alicia Dudley, daughter of Sir Thomas Leigh, 1668, and of Alicia

Duchess of Dudley, A.D. 1621. This is figured in Dugdale's "Warwickshire." The extremely curious and interesting cylindrical Norman font is said to have been brought from the ruins of Maxstoke Priory, but this can hardly have been so, as the priory was founded as late as the 14th century. It is surrounded by a shallow arcade of semi-circular arches, within which are full-length figures of the twelve apostles. Among the many additions to the Norman church some interesting and beautiful windows of the 14th century in the north wall of the nave are worthy of especial notice.

The visitors next went across the park to Stoneleigh Abbey, and, by the kind permission of Lord Leigh, were conducted through the mansion. Of the Cistercian abbey, which was built here in the latter half of the 12th century, some important and highly-interesting portions remain; and several fine doorways of Transitional character, that appear to have opened into a cloister. The remarkably fine vaulted crypt or undercroft is of the 13th century: it is divided longitudinally by a row of pillars from which spring the ribs of the groining. There are also considerable remains of the first—Elizabethan—mansion erected on the ruins of the monastery by Sir Thomas Leigh, but they are much mixed up and incorporated with the fine mansion built by Edward, Lord Leigh, in the reign of George II. This is a good specimen of Georgian Italian architecture; many of the rooms are very fine; the saloon is specially notable for the design and exquisite execution of the plaster ceilings and cornices, and the good preservation of the oak wainscottings. The old gateway to the precincts of the monastery is a well-preserved example of the 14th century, and reminds one of that at Maxstoke of about the same date. The time at the disposal of the party was too short to allow of more than a hasty glance at the pictures and other interesting contents of the mansion. The walk was continued to Kenilworth, and an excellent tea was taken at the King's Arms, after which a visit was made to the castle, where a short but interesting paper on the history of the origin and development of the defensive architecture of the country was read by Mr. John Cotton. The paper was illustrated by large plans and diagrams, and was listened to with much attention. The return journey by the newly-opened line viâ Berkswell was a short one, and Birmingham was reached about nine o'clock. Forty-three members and ladies took part in the excursion.

Officers and Committee, 1884.

ELECTIVE.

SAM: TIMMINS, F.S.A., *President.*
J. A. COSSINS, *Hon. Secretary.*
JOHN COTTON.
J. A. LANGFORD, LL.D.
WM. PEARCE.
EDWIN SMITH.
CHARLES WILLIAMS.

EX-OFFICIO (Officers of the Institute).

HIS EXCELLENCY THE HON. RUSSELL LOWELL, D.C.L., LL.D., United States Minister in London, *President.*
THE REV. A. R. VARDY, M.A., } *Vice-Presidents.*
GEORGE ZAIR, }
G. S. MATHEWS, M.A., *Treasurer.*
COUNCILLOR R. F. MARTINEAU, *Hon. Secretary.*

Report of the Committee,

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, 28TH JANUARY, 1885.

DR. J. A. LANGFORD IN THE CHAIR.

The Committee, in presenting their Report for the past year, have pleasure in stating that the affairs of the Section are in a sound condition. The Excursions and Meetings have been well attended, and the proceedings generally of the Section appear to have been characterised with more than usual vitality.

The following papers have been read, viz. :—

Jan. 30th.—"Warwickshire Brasses." Mr. C. Williams.

Feb. 27th.—"The Monuments of Aston Church." Mr. W. F. Carter.

Nov. 26th.—"Herefordshire and Worcestershire Monumental Brasses." Mr. C. T. Davies.

Dec. 17th.—"The Roads of England in the Middle Ages." Rev. J. O. Bevan, M.A. (Second paper.)

The Excursions were as follow, viz. :—

May 27th.—Hereford and Golden Valley; attendance, twenty-seven.

June 28th.—Alrewas and Walton; attendance, twenty-two.

July 24th.—Chepstow, Tintern and Raglan; attendance, thirty-two.

Aug. 30th.—Kenilworth and Stoneleigh; attendance, forty-three.

The "Staunton Folio" was issued to the members early in the year. There are several copies remaining in the Secretary's hands, and the Committee suggest that members should induce their friends to purchase them: they are really valuable as a contribution to local archæology.

The Committee have pleasure in reporting that, in conjunction with the Committee of "Our Shakspeare Club," the Section undertook the fitting up of the "Dr. Johnson" Room, at Aston Hall, with the panelling removed from Hector's house, in the Old Square. Mr. Cossins, the Honorary Secretary of the Section, superintended the work; and the room was formally handed over to the Mayor, for the town, on the 13th of December last, that date being the centenary of Dr. Johnson's death.

The Committee record with very great regret the loss sustained by the Section in the retirement of Mr. Edwin Smith and Mr. Wm. Pearce. They have satisfaction in knowing that, although these gentlemen cannot act on the Committee, they still retain their interest in the Section.

The volume of Transactions for 1880-81 has been issued, leaving only the volume for 1882-3 outstanding, the materials for which are in a forward state.

In concluding this Report, the Committee cordially invite the co-operation of the younger members of the Section, by whom the work must necessarily, in the future, be carried on.

Dr. *General Account.* Cr.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1884.

1884.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	To Advertising	1	9	8			
	„ Audit Expenses	2	2	0			
	„ Bookbinding	0	12	0			
	„ Excursions	7	3	9			
	„ Printing and Stationery ...	3	0	3			
	„ Postages, Carriage and Incidentals, including delivery of Transactions	10	8	2			
	„ Transactions	60	2	4			
					84	18	2
	„ To Balance carried forward ...				91	2	5
					£176	0	7

1883.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	By Balance brought forward ...	110	1	2			
1884.							
Dec. 31.	By Interest on Deposit Account	6	18	11			
	„ Subscriptions	57	15	0			
	„ "Staunton Folio," extra copies sold	1	5	6			
					176	0	7
					£176	0	7

Copying Fund.

1884.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	To Printing, &c.	14	4	0			
	„ Balance carried forward ...	90	11	1			
					104	15	1

1883.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	By Balance brought forward ...	91	15	1			
1884.							
Dec. 31.	By Subscriptions...	13	0	0			
					104	15	1

Balance Sheet.

1884.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	To Balance of Income Account...	91	2	5			
	„ Balance of Copying Fund ...	90	11	1			
	„ Amounts due to sundry persons	6	11	6			
					188	5	0

1884.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	By Amount in hand of Birmingham Joint Stock Bank, viz.:						
	General Account ...	6	9	9			
	Deposit Account ...	175	2	9			
	„ Amounts due from sundry persons	6	12	6			
					188	5	0

G S. MATHEWS,
Treasurer.

THOS. HOOPER,
JOHN RABONE, } *Honorary Auditors.*

(Signed) LAUNDY & CO., *Chartered Accountants.*

Excursions, 1885.

STOKESAY CASTLE AND LUDLOW.

11th and 12th of June.

A PARTY of twenty-three made this excursion, departing from Snow Hill at 8.32 a.m. After an enjoyable journey through the beautiful Shropshire scenery, the visitors alighted at the Craven Arms Station, where they were met by Mr. C. Fortey, of Ludlow, who throughout the two days proved a most intelligent and courteous guide. The first object of interest visited was Stokesay Castle, at a distance of about a mile from the station. This is one of the most perfect and interesting domestic buildings of the 13th century remaining. Although called a castle, it is in reality but a fortified manor house, which, although some of the detached out-buildings have been removed, remains in remarkably complete and well-preserved condition. The buildings consist of a fine hall, with open timbered roof, lighted by fine pointed arched windows of two lights in each bay; at one end of the hall is the usual cellar, with two storeys of rooms over, and at the other end the solar, from which two small loopholes, with shutters, look into the hall; beyond this is a very remarkable polygonal tower of three storeys, with an embattled parapet, the embrasures of which have been fitted with shutters. The buildings are surrounded by a moat, now dry, and over the bridge by which it is crossed is an elaborately-carved Elizabethan gateway lodge, with rooms over the

entrance. Close by is the ancient church, the several buildings forming a group almost unequalled for antiquarian interest and for picturesque effect. Returning to the Craven Arms Hotel, luncheon was taken, and the journey continued by rail to Bromfield. The party here diverged slightly from the intended route to visit the remarkable group of tumuli on the racecourse, two or three of which had lately been opened and carefully explored, under the superintendence of Mr. Fortey. Ascending the largest of the mounds, the visitors listened with great interest to a short description, given by their guide, of the objects of interest found during the excavations. In one of the tumuli was found the skeleton of a child with an arrow-head by its side. In another the burnt bones of an adult under an inverted urn, and immediately under it the heap of ashes and charcoal left from the fire with which it was cremated. The shape of the urn and the character of its rude ornamentation were considered to indicate an early British date, probably of three or four hundred years before the Roman occupation. In an adjoining field were also discovered, at about the same time, the foundations of a chapel of early Norman date with an apsidal east end, a part of the curious encaustic-tile pavement of which remained. The interesting Priory Church at Bromfield, beautifully situated at the confluence of the Teme and the Onny, was next examined, and the ruins of an Elizabethan house adjoining it. The walk then lay through Oakley Park, where, by the kindness of Lady Clive, the "Druid Oaks," a group of very grand and aged trees, in a most picturesque condition of decay, were visited. The party afterwards proceeded to Ludlow, the proceedings of the day ending with an excellent dinner at The Feathers Hotel.

Early on Thursday morning the visitors were afoot, and the church first received their attention. This fine cross church, with central tower, is on a large scale, and possesses interesting examples of architecture from the 13th to the 16th centuries, but it is especially notable on account of its large and fine examples of ancient stained glass, and its wood carvings. After the church, the castle was inspected, and here a long stay was made, every part receiving minute and careful attention. Anything like a detailed account of the many points of interest in this grand fortress would exceed the limits of our space. Its historic interest is almost unequalled, for, to say nothing of the Lacys and Mortimers, whose achievements were so closely connected with it, we are reminded that here Edward IV. lived when young, and that here Prince Arthur died. Butler here wrote " Hudibras," and it will always be famous as being the place where "Comus" was performed, the incident which suggested it to Milton having occurred in the adjoining Bringwood Chase. The keep is of the 12th century ; most of the residential parts are of the time of Edward III., and a part was erected when Henry Sydney was President of the Council of Wales which sat here. The visitors were assisted in their inspection of the buildings

by Mr. Fortey and Mr. J. A. Cossins, the latter of whom especially directed their attention to the circular chapel of Norman date, and within its walls read a short paper on the circular churches and chapels of England. A visit was then made to the local museum, a model of what such an institution should be; and after a short drive and dinner, the party returned to Birmingham, full of pleasant remembrances of a most pleasant and useful excursion.

COMPTON WINYATES.

11th July.

The first half-day excursion this season was made to Compton Winyates, a curious old house belonging to the Marquess of Northampton, and which gives the title of Lord Compton to his eldest son. Assembling at Snow Hill Station at twelve o'clock, the express train landed the party at Banbury about half-past one, whence they proceeded in brakes to their destination. The famous cross immortalised in nursery legend was of course the first object for which inquiry was here made. Had the visitor to Banbury some thirty years ago looked for Banbury Cross he would not have found it, for Banbury was for three centuries without a cross, the old one having been demolished at the Reformation; and it was not till the marriage of the Princess Royal of England with Prince Frederick William of Prussia that it was resolved to restore the cross, as the most graceful memorial of the event which the town could adopt. The present cross was erected in 1859. Two miles and a half from the town was passed Broughton Castle, the residence of Viscount Saye and Sele, a moated house, of no great strength, but which was frequently used as a place of meeting by the leaders of the Parliamentary party, but was surrendered to the king a few days after the battle of Edge Hill.

Compton Winyates lies nine miles from Banbury, and is about four miles from Edge Hill. It stands in a deep hollow or basin of the range of hills of which Edge Hill forms a part, and is surrounded by woods and ponds. It has been popularly called "Compton-in-the-Hole," a not inappropriate designation. From whichever side Compton Winyates is approached it cannot be seen till one is close upon it. It is a brick and timber building of singular construction —quadrangular in plan, with a projecting porch. The timbers have become dark with age, the bricks have lost their brightness, and the lighter mortar gives a hoary tone to the whole. Without doubt a house existed on the site before

the present one was built, no part of which seems to be earlier than the time of Henry VIII. William Compton, though of an old Warwickshire family, dating back to the Conquest, was the first to bring distinction upon it. At his father's death, when only eleven years of age, he was made page to Henry, Duke of York, the second son of Henry VII. When the Duke of York became King, under the title of Henry VIII., William Compton was advanced to various offices and trusts. He was knighted, and the following year he was appointed the King's purse-keeper, and besides was the Royal keeper of the park at Fulbroke, which afterwards came into the hands of Sir Thomas Lucy, and where Shakspere was said to have stolen the deer. The castle of Fulbroke was pulled down by Sir William Compton, and with the materials he principally constructed his new house—Compton Winyates.

About a century ago all the ancient furniture was sold, and for a long time it fell into a ruinous condition. Some time afterwards it was in a degree restored, but still left unfurnished, and even now there are but few rooms for occupation, sufficient furniture only having been replaced to make it suitable for an occasional residence as a shooting box. There are two chapels contained within the house, the lower one being that first visited. It is altogether desolate. The "tables" are removed from their places on the wall, and stand reared on end in an ignominious way. There are curious carvings, one of which represents the open jaws of hell, into which numerous figures are riding along on horses or asses, each one showing in some way or other an emblem of his ruling passion —as a miser hugging his bag of money—and each one is attended at his back by an imp urging him or his beast onward. One of the victims is evidently a monk. These carvings and the fine panel work of the chapel, though of oak, were all painted white by a bygone Earl of Northampton, who acquired the name of "Tidy John" from his genius for neatness and white paint. This chapel formerly contained a costly window of rare workmanship, which was destroyed during the Civil War, but a small quantity of the glass still preserved in Cherrington Church affords an idea of its rich beauty, which Dugdale saw and admired. A finely-carved screen brought from Fulbroke, also painted white, stands in this neglected chapel. On and up many winding stairs and the apartment called the Council Room was reached, which contains five doorways of escape, with a staircase leading from each, and in a small closet adjoining is a hiding hole in the floor, closed by a trap, very similar to the priest's hole at Boscobel in which the second Charles took refuge. The Comptons were always noted for their loyalty to the king and their adherence to the Protestant faith, but some of the family must have inclined to the "old religion" long after the Reformed doctrines had spread through the land and Protestantism had become the popular creed. That such was the case is to-day evident from an inspection of the curious little chapel in the roof. At the front

of the window is an oak slab about four feet long on which are five incised crosses emblematical of the wounds of the Saviour upon the cross; there are also three doors, with a staircase from each, to give persons an opportunity of escape should they be surprised when at their devotions. The haunted chamber, a small apartment, about six feet by six, is shown, though the ghostly visitations to which it was subject are involved in mystery. Henry VIII.'s room was shown, where he is said to have slept when he visited Sir William Compton here at his house-warming. An old carved bedstead stands in it, and leading from the room was a secret staircase, now closed, as a means of entrance to or exit from the chapel. The drawing room contains a fine chimney-piece and old panelling removed from Canonbury House, with some new in the same style to match. Another chamber is that in which King Charles passed the night before the fatal battle of Edgehill, and, going on through the dining room and the library, is the great hall. The screen, which fences off the buttery, hatch and kitchen, yet remains, with the minstrel gallery above, and on the walls are two pieces of tapestry in fairly good and clean condition. Besides the tapestry the only furniture the great hall contains is a long table made of one thick plank, and an old black-jack inscribed 1742. But few of the eighty-one rooms which the mansion contains are of good size or of fair proportions. Over the gateway are the arms of Henry VIII., surmounted by the Royal crown, and in many other places the rose or the thistle, surmounted by a crown, is a conspicuous ornament, an indication of the loyalty of the Comptons and of that Royal favour which was bestowed on them by Henry VIII. and James. The chimneys are among the most marked features of the place. They are all of brick, twisted, turned, fluted, zigzagged, and ornamented in every conceivable way, and show that the manufacture of curiously-shaped and ornamental bricks is not a modern invention. They are said to have been brought from Fulbroke entire on carriages built for the purpose.

After everybody had made the tour of the house, an excellent cold collation was served in the Great Hall, permission for which had been obtained from Lord William Compton. This had been arranged by the host of the Red Lion, Banbury, and gave entire satisfaction. An hour was afterwards spent in noticing the peculiarities of the building externally, the general opinion expressed being that whether for its external quaintness, or its apparent want of plan and queer passages and rooms and staircases, it was the most curiously constructed house ever seen, and well worth the visit.

An inspection of the little church close by the house was made, but as the former church was totally destroyed during the Civil War the present one affords few points of interest. The party returned by the express train shortly before ten o'clock.

CHATSWORTH, HADDON, SOUTH WINGFIELD AND HARDWICK.

31st July and 1st August.

About thirty members left New Street Station on the Friday morning by the 8.50 train for Rowsley, where carriages were in waiting to convey them to Chatsworth. The mansion, conservatories, and grounds were gone through before lunch, after which another enjoyable drive through the Duke of Devonshire's beautiful park set the party down at Haddon Hall. Some two hours or more were spent in perambulating this interesting building, which is so well known as to require no detailed notice, and the carriages were then again taken for Baslow, where the visitors were to spend the night. Some were accommodated at the Peacock Hotel, and others at the Hydropathic Establishment, which was agreeably found to be much more devoted to recreation and pleasant society than hydropathy.

Next morning the visitors drove to Bakewell Station, whence after a short run Matlock Bath was reached. The proceedings of the day included a visit to South Wingfield Manor House and Hardwick Hall. The drive to the former place from Matlock is one of about eight miles, and the route lies through some of the pleasantest of the Derbyshire scenery.

Wingfield Manor, or as it is sometimes spelt "Winfield," is a conspicuous object from the Midland Railway as one passes through Wingfield Station about a mile distant, but it is visited by archæologists less frequently than it deserves to be. Seen, whether from the approach below, or from the tower above, the prospect is equally delightful; and the picturesqueness of the ruin—for such it is—could scarcely be excelled. The building was begun about 1441. An allusion to Cromwell's office, as Treasurer of the Exchequer, is found in the coat of arms over the gateway, in which a number of bags or purses appear. The house was completed by John Talbot, the second Earl of Shrewsbury, to whom Cromwell sold it. Apart from its architectural details, Wingfield is interesting as having been the scene of a portion of the captivity of the ill-fated Mary, Queen of Scots. A State paper says that in November, 1584, there were in all two hundred and ten gentlemen, yeomen, and soldiers employed in the custody of the Queen at Wingfield. The diet of the Queen on "both fishe days and fleshe days" was "about sixteen dishes dressed all their own manner sometimes more or less as provision serveth." The Queen had four good coach horses, her gentlemen six, and about forty horses were kept altogether. The domestic

establishment of the Queen at Wingfield consisted of "5 gentilmen, 5 servitours, 3 cooks, 4 boyes, 3 gentilmens men, 6 gentilwomen, 2 wyves, 10 wenches and children." The same paper states that the Queen had no "napery hanging, bed linen, &c., of her own," but had to be provided by Lord Shrewsbury, that which had been sent by Elizabeth's order being declared to be "nothing of it serviceable, but worn and spent." The building of the mansion, according to Mr. Leader in his book "Mary, Queen of Scots, in Captivity," formed two courts—the inner lying to the south and the other to the north. Around the south and west sides were the stables and the usual servants' quarters. There are traces of earthworks in the field outside. Between the two courts was a second gateway, with porter's lodge and all the arrangements for careful watching. The great hall, seventy-two feet long by thirty-six feet wide, must have been a magnificent appartment, and a richly-decorated bay window still remains. Beneath this hall is a crypt of the same dimensions with groined arches massively ribbed. By some antiquaries this has been supposed to have been the chapel. The kitchens and usual domestic offices are easily traced by reason of the huge fireplaces and ovens still remaining. At the outbreak of the Civil War between Charles I. and the Parliament, Wingfield had passed into the hands of the Earl of Pembroke, by whom it was placed in a state of defence, Pembroke siding with the Parliamentarians. In December, 1643, the Earl of Newcastle came down with a small army of Royalists, and, after a four days' siege, took the place by storm. Later on the Roundheads, by the aid of superior ordnance placed on Pentrich Common, effected a breach in the walls after a siege of many months, and in 1646, by a decree of Parliament dated the 23rd June, the place was dismantled and reduced to ruins, the Roundheads announcing their determination to destroy every place which might serve as a "nest for malignants." So late as 1774 a great deal of the original building remained intact, but in that year a great deal of it was taken to build the mansion in the valley below. What remains presents a picture of exceeding beauty, and whether its archæological interest or the romance which the residence of Mary Stuart has attached to it be considered, it affords a real treat to the artist and the traveller alike.

After an excellent lunch at the Manor Hotel the drive was resumed to Hardwick Hall, which to some members of the party was old campaigning ground, the section having visited it in 1878.

Carriages were again taken in order to get the party to dinner at The Angel at Chesterfield, and after a dusty drive of about seven miles the explorations of the party came to an end.

Some of the visitors returned by the eight o'clock train to Birmingham, whilst about a dozen drove back to Baslow for Bank Holiday. Altogether the excursion was one of the most successful made by the section.

TEWKESBURY AND DEERHURST.

5th September.

This was the last Saturday afternoon excursion of the season, and was attended by fourteen members. The abbey church of Tewkesbury was first visited, and after tea, at the Bell Hotel, a pleasant walk was taken to Deerhurst, the recent discoveries at the old manor house, in addition to the well-known church, rendering the visit exceptionally interesting. The return journey to Birmingham was made by the half-past eight train.

Officers and Committee, 1885.

ELECTIVE.

SAM: TIMMINS, F.S.A., *President.*
J. A. COSSINS, *Hon. Secretary.*
JOHN COTTON.
CECIL T. DAVIES.
OLIVER ESSEX.
J. A. LANGFORD, LL.D.
CHAS. WILLIAMS.

EX-OFFICIO (Officers of the Institute).

THE MOST REV. HIS GRACE THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, P.C., D.D., F.R.S., *President.*
THE REV. A. R. VARDY, M.A., } *Vice-Presidents.*
GEORGE ZAIR, }
G. S. MATHEWS, M.A., *Treasurer.*
COUNCILLOR R. F. MARTINEAU, *Hon. Secretary.*

Report of the Committee,

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, 27TH JANUARY, 1886.

DR. J. A. LANGFORD IN THE CHAIR.

The Committee, in presenting their Report for the past twelve months, have reason to congratulate the members on the general success of the work of the Section.

The following papers have been read, viz.:—

"Symbolism in Art," by Mr. W. Doubleday.
"The Book of St. Chad," by Mr. Lawson Tait.
"Old Birmingham Families," by Mr. Jos. Hill.
"Notes on Packwood Church," by Mr. J. R. Holliday.
"Notes on a Gloucestershire Parish," by Mr. C. T. Davies.

The Committee have had some correspondence with Mr. Lawson Tait on the subject of a proposal made by him as to the publication of the Book of St. Chad, but at the present time they are not able to report anything definite in the matter.

Excursions were made during the summer as follows:—

To Ludlow, Compton Winyates,
Haddon Hall and district, and
Tewkesbury.

With the exception of the Excursion to Compton Winyates, the Excursions generally were not so largely attended as the Committee would have desired. If more of the members made a point of attending these Excursions the cost per head would be proportionally reduced, and they would be carried out without involving the Section in any annual expense.

The Committee have arranged to exchange Transactions with the Leicester Architectural and Archæological Society and the Shropshire Natural History and Archæological Society.

During the year the Committee have obtained photographs of several old buildings which were to be demolished, and they have authorised the Honorary Secretary to continue to have photographs taken of such places and buildings as, in his opinion, deserve to be recorded.

The Committee have been unable to issue a volume of Transactions during the year owing to exceptional difficulty in the preparation of copy, but the volume for the years 1882-3 is in hand, and the Committee hope to issue this and the volume for 1884-5 during the present year. This will bring the Transactions quite up to date.

Dr. *General Account.* **Cr.**

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1885.

1885.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	1884.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	To Advertising	0	13	9				Dec. 31.	By Balance brought forward ...	91	2	5			
	„ Audit Expenses	2	2	0				1885.							
	„ Printing and Stationery ...	4	7	0				Dec. 31.	By Interest on Deposit Account	7	12	6			
	„ Postages, Carriage, and Incidentals	8	15	9					„ Subscriptions	51	0	0			
	„ Excursions, deficit on ...	6	4	2					„ "Staunton Folio," extra copies sold	8	18	6			
					22	2	8		„ Transactions sold	2	17	6			
	„ Balance carried forward ...				139	8	3								
					£161	10	11						161	10	11

Copying Fund.

1885.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	1884.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	To Photographs	4	10	0				Dec. 31.	By Balance brought forward ...	90	11	1			
	„ Balance carried forward ...	96	0	1				1885.							
								Dec. 31.	By Subscriptions	9	19	0			
					100	10	1						100	10	1

Balance Sheet.

1885.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	1885.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	To Balance of Income Account...	139	8	3				Dec. 31.	By Amount in hands of Birmingham Joint Stock Bank, viz.:						
	„ Balance of Copying Fund ...	96	0	1					General Account ...	51	13	1			
									Deposit Account ...	182	15	3			
									„ Amounts due from sundry persons	1	0	0			
	G. S. MATHEWS, *Treasurer.*				235	8	4						235	8	4

27th January, 1886.

(Signed) LAUNDY & CO., *Chartered Accountants.*

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Contents.

	PAGE.
Some Romano-British Sources of Lead. By Charles Perks, L.R.C.P., etc.	1
The Confiscation of the Birmingham Gilds. By J. A. Langford, LL.D.	13
Ancient Greek Games. By Prof. E. A. Sonnenschein, M.A. . . .	25
Hospital of St. John Baptist, Coventry. By W. G. Fretton, F.S.A. .	32
The Excursions, 1886	51
Report and Accounts, 1886	61

List of Illustrations.

	TO FACE PAGE.
FAC-SIMILE OF LEASE FROM GILD OF HOLY CROSS TO JOHN CROWE	22
ILLUSTRATIONS OF ANCIENT GREEK GAMES:—	
Fig. I. A THROW. (Pair of Wrestlers)	30
„ II. GROUND PLAN OF GYMNASIUM AT EPHESUS . .	28
„ III. LONG JUMP (aided by weights)	29
„ IV. HIGH JUMP	29
„ V. THROWING THE DISCUS (first position).	30
„ VI. ANCIENT RACING BOAT	30

Some Romano-British Sources of Lead.

By CHARLES PERKS, L.R.C.P., etc.

27th January, 1886.

I PROPOSE, with your permission, to occupy your attention for a short time by a consideration of the sources, or at least some of them, and confined to this country, whence the Romans obtained their lead. Numerous masses, or pigs, of this metal, altogether 44, have from time to time been discovered in different parts of England. All of them are regular in form, but vary considerably in size and weight, and as all, or nearly all, are inscribed, the large majority with the name of the Emperor, whilst some also give indirectly the year both of his reign and of the production of the lead, we may, by a study of these facts, together with others to be presently mentioned, especially the places where these pigs were found, be enabled to form a fairly good opinion as to the original source of many, if not all, of them.

The sketch before you will give you an idea of the shape of these masses of metal. I have also prepared* a list of the inscriptions, where legible, found upon them, and arranged them as far as possible in chronological order.

We learn from Cæsar himself that the ostensible reasons for his invasion of Britain were :—(1) The fact that in his Gallic campaigns the British had afforded assistance to their neighbours, more especially the Veneti, or people of

* *Vide* page 12.

Brittany; and (2) because up to that time little was known to the Romans relating to this country, the trade with which by the wealthy merchants of the Greek colonies of Marseilles, Narbonne, and Corbeil, being a concealed one, and having descended to them from their Phœnician predecessors. There cannot be a doubt that the Romans had some inkling of its importance, especially in connection with some of the metals, notably tin, and there is sufficient evidence to prove that the metallic wealth of the island was suspected by them, if not actually known to them. Although, therefore, lust of conquest was the primary object of Cæsar's invasion, the love of the Romans for tin, lead, copper, and silver, which this country, next to Spain, possessed in greatest abundance, must not be overlooked or disregarded. As to the motive assigned by Suetonius for this expedition, viz., Cæsar's desire to obtain pearls, in which he was led to believe the island abounded, and the further statement of Pliny that Cæsar dedicated to Venus Genetrix, in her temple, a breastplate made of British pearls, I look upon it as a frivolous one, and one altogether secondary and unimportant.

Whatever the motives for Cæsar's two expeditions to Britain, his conquests were of a very limited character, restricted to the south-east portion of it, and but little removed from actual defeats, nevertheless they had the effect of bringing the inhabitants of that particular portion into the sphere of Roman influence and civilization, but as yet the mining districts of the country remained unaffected. From the time of Cæsar to the accession of Claudius, the fourth Emperor of Rome, who succeeded Caligula, January, A.D. 41, no hostile Roman foot entered the country. However, in the autumn of A.D. 43 an army under Aulus Plautius landed on these shores, and serving in it were two future Emperors of Rome, Vespasian and his son Titus. As a result of three or four campaigns the south-eastern portion of Britain was reduced to subjection as far to the north-west as the present counties of Oxford and Gloucester, but so little progress had been hitherto made, and so obstinate had proved the defence of the Britons that the Romans were compelled to act on the defensive and inform the Emperor of their position. The latter at once came over to this country, assumed the command, crossed the Thames, defeated the Britons, and seized Colchester (Camulodunum). He then returned to Rome, was rewarded by the Senate for this short and simple service with a magnificent pageant, received, together with his son, the title of Britannicus, and a coin to celebrate this so-called conquest was struck in both silver and gold, which proves that these latter events took place in the sixth year of his reign, viz., subsequent to January, 46, and previous to January, 47, probably in the summer or autumn of 46. Subsequently Vespasian, with the Second Legion, proved successful over the two powerful tribes of the Belgæ and Damnonii, and thus reduced to submission the then inhabitants of the present counties of Hants, Wilts, and Somerset, Devon and Cornwall, together with the Isle of Wight, after fighting nearly 30 battles and capturing 20 fortified positions.

In August, 1853, a pig of lead (No. 1 on our list) was found near Blagdon on the northern slope of the Mendip Hills, Somersetshire. There is a space between Britannic and Aug where the letters have been effaced; the complete inscription should read Britannici, Claudii, Augusti, Filii, referring to Britannicus, son of Claudius Augustus. The letters V.E.I.P. or V.E.T.P. have been twice impressed on the sloping side, but at present remain unexplained. It measures 24 inches by 6¼; the width of the inscribed surface is three inches, and it weighs 163lbs. Britannicus was born A.D. 42, and, according to the medal I have just referred to, received that title A.D. 46. He was disinherited A.D. 48 through the intrigues of his step-mother Agrippina, and thus the date of this pig becomes fixed.

Another pig of lead (No. 2) was turned up by the plough in the reign of our eighth Harry, also in the neighbourhood of the Mendip Hills, at Wookey Hole, in Somersetshire. We find from the inscription on it, TRIB. P VIII. that when it was made Claudius had received possession of the Tribunitian power for the eighth time, and that, presumably, and, in this instance, in fact (so far as I can judge), the metal was procured between January, 48, and January, 49 (A.D.) I have been exceptionally careful on this point, because it does not necessarily follow that the date of this Tribunitian power, when appearing on medals, coins, or other Roman relics, should, in itself, signify as a surety the year of the Emperor's reign, as we have some, if not several, indications to the contrary. Mr. Camden read the numerals on this pig nine instead of eight, and the year would be 49. The question from where the metal composing these pigs was obtained is, I think, fairly well answered, for at the time they were smelted all the tribes to the north of those districts I have mentioned were in either open or covert opposition to the Romans, and would not therefore be likely to supply them with these or any other articles of merchandise, and certainly would not allow them to be stamped with the Imperial device of Rome; and as, moreover, the south-western counties of Britain had so recently been conquered by the arms of Vespasian, it is reasonable to assume that the conquerors at once utilized the metallic wealth of Cornwall and the adjoining counties, the former of which had, for many centuries, been, presumably, the source of a very extensive traffic in the metals, and as lead has been found in Somerset itself in the vicinity of the place where this pig was discovered, it becomes extremely probable that it was made in the immediate neighbourhood of where it was lost, the lead being obtained from the adjoining mines. Passing on, we find that Aulus Plautius was recalled previous to the year A.D. 50, and received an ovation as his reward. The tribes of the interior now appear to have resented the Roman intrusion by taking up arms in defence of their respective territories, and, in the absence of a suitable commander on the other side, assumed the offensive, but on the arrival of Ostorius Scapula they were repulsed with much slaughter and driven out of the territory the

Romans had as yet acquired, which was then protected by a line of forts extending from the Severn to the Avon, and including that portion of Britain lying south of a line drawn from the Wash to the Bristol Channel. The (Iceni) people of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon, objecting to this action on the part of Rome, allied themselves with their neighbours and rose in rebellion, but were defeated with great loss by Ostorius and returned to their subjection. North of the line above-mentioned were the minor tribes of the Cornabii (of Warwick, Worcester, Stafford, Salop, and Chester) and the Coritavi (of Northampton, Rutland, Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, and Derby). These appear to have been subject or allied to the powerful tribe of the Brigantes (of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Northumberland) who are accredited as being the oldest, the aboriginal, inhabitants of this island; but be that as it may, these three tribes, discouraged by recent events, made their submission voluntarily, and Ostorius, with his army, marched through Salop and North Wales to the tribe of the Cangi, on the borders of the Irish sea, whence he was recalled by a partial and readily subdued revolt of the Brigantes, leaving only the Silures, of South Wales, under Caractacus, in combination with the Ordovices, of North Wales, opposed to the power of Rome. That distinguished British chief, Caractacus, was defeated by Ostorius, A.D. 50, and taken to Rome in the following year, but the Silures were, as yet, unconquered, and, as Tacitus tells us, maintained an incessant warfare, although chiefly of a predatory character, but sufficiently harassing to Ostorius as to cause his death A.D. 55, the Emperor Claudius having died on the 13th of October in the previous year.

We must now refer to our third pig. This was found on Matlock Moor, Derbyshire, in April, 1787. Like the others it is oblong in form, and has the following dimensions:—

Length of lettered side.....	17½ inches.	It consisted of about thirty layers, as if smelted at so many different times.
Breadth of same.....	3 "	
Length of opposite side.....	20½ "	Weight, 173lbs., being the heaviest of the pigs found in Derbyshire.
Breadth of this side.....	6½ "	
Thickness.....	4¾ "	

The inscription appears in raised and prominent letters, as on those others I have had the opportunity of testing, and, as suggested by Mr. Pegge, were either cut in intaglio on the bottom of the forms or moulds in which the pigs were cast, or engraved on a metal, probably iron, stamp, and used when the lead was hot and soft; the former being the most probable, having regard to the shape of the pig and to the fact that it would not be likely to be turned out of the mould until it had become hard and unimpressible; of course it would be necessary that those moulds denoting fixed periods of time should be renewed accordingly. From an article in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1773, vol. 43, p. 61, it would appear that these inscriptions were marked by

the Roman directors or superintendents of the mines and furnaces, and the stamps showed either that the pigs had paid the proper tribute, or were of due weight or of legal purity. My own view will be gathered as we proceed, and, for the present, I will only say that our third pig must have been made subsequent to January, 49, and previous to the year A.D. 55. Mr. Yates says it was smelted A.D. 49.

On the 31st of January, 1824, four pigs were found at Broomer's Hill, near Pulborough, Sussex. On two of them the inscriptions were effaced, and being therefore illegible were melted down. Those on the other two were the same as No. 4, and only differed from No. 3 by the absence of the T.I. at the commencement. On one of them the inscription was partly erased. The length of one was 23 inches; width, 6½ inches; height, 4¾ inches; and weight, 184lbs.

Nero succeeded Claudius, and an elderly officer, by name Avitus Didius Gallus, followed Ostorius as commander in Britain. Previous to his arrival one of the legions had been defeated by the Silures, but he at once advanced against them, and they met with a signal defeat. About this time also occurred the civil war amongst the Brigantes, described by Tacitus, the leaders being Cartismandua, the queen of this tribe, on the one side, and on the other a chief named Venusius, whom she had married but subsequently separated from, and he, in retaliation, assumed command of the Silures, whilst she sought the protection of the Romans, and, with their assistance, proved successful against her opponents. We read also about the same time of another army of Britons, tribe and locality unknown, being defeated by a legion under Cœsius Nasica. Didius, from his advanced age and consequent inactivity, soon left the more arduous portions of his duty to subordinate officers, and was eventually recalled, towards the close of the year 58, to be replaced by Veranius, who made one or two successful attacks on the Silures, but died in 59, before he had held office twelve months. Caius Suetonius Paullinus, a distinguished officer, was sent the same year, as his successor. A short time before his arrival the Roman arms had received a check, and he found much disorder in the whole district occupied by the Silures, Ordovices, and the Brigantes. Tracing this to its origin, he discovered that the Druids, who had gradually retreated to Mona (Anglesey), were inciting the tribes in their opposition to the Romans. Suetonius therefore marched with his army to the coast of Caernarvon, crossed the Menai Straits, and nearly exterminated the inhabitants of Mona, irrespective of sex, by fire and sword. One of the most vivid and graphic descriptions of Tacitus informs us of this last overt stand of Druidism against the power of Rome, from which it would almost appear that the soldiery received the same instructions from Suetonius as did the Israelites under Moses, who, on their entrance into Canaan, were "to utterly destroy all the places upon the hills wherein the nations served their gods," "to overthrow their altars, and break their pillars, and burn their groves with fire" (Deut. xii.)

Whilst Suetonius was engaged in these or similar designs, information reached him of one of the most terrible and sanguinary revolts ever experienced in ancient or modern times. I refer to that under Boadicea, the widow of Prasutagus, queen of the Iceni, who, with just cause, rose in rebellion against the oppression and avarice of Rome, and thereby caused the loss of 70,000 lives and the destruction of London by fire. But more than equal retribution was to follow, for Suetonius, having left a garrison in Mona, hastily retraced his steps to the scene of action, and in a fixed battle slew nearly 80,000 Britons, with a loss to the Romans of about 400 slain and a somewhat higher number wounded. These events occurred in A.D. 61, the year after the pig, whose inscription is fifth on our list, was cast, for Nero was Consul for the fourth time A.D. 60. This was found in 1783 at the edge of Broughton Brook, near Stockbridge, in Hampshire. The sketch of it before you* will enable you to form an idea of the shape, &c., of this and of the others also, for they vary only in minor points, but have the same general appearance. Besides the inscription on its face it has on one side the letters IVL PMCS, and on the other EX ARGENT and CAPASCAS, with the numeral XXX. The words on it, Ex Kian, clearly prove that it came from the tribe of the Kiangi. You will notice that on Nos. 7, 9, and 11 are the words De Ceang, of or from the tribe of the Ceangi, two ways of spelling the name of the same tribe. Tacitus calls them the Cangi, and informs us that their territory was wasted and much booty obtained by Ostorius, as I have before mentioned. They are supposed to have inhabited that part of Cheshire and Lancashire bordering on the Irish Sea, and were doubtless a minor tribe subject or allied to the Cornabii or Brigantes, or both. But whence did they obtain the lead? and in such quantities, too, for Camden says that 20 pigs of lead have been dug up on this coast. I cannot avoid the possibility of its having been imported by them from the Isle of Man, as we know that that island was, and is, even in the present day, a great mining centre for this metal, as, for example, at Laxey and elsewhere, and I have myself seen on it unmistakeable evidences of its having been occupied, long before the Roman invasion of Britain, by a people whose principal, if not only, object in doing so must have been its great plumbiferous wealth. The reason of the pig having been found in Hampshire is probably to be explained by the fact that the impending insurrection, under Boadicea, of the tribes dwelling between the Wash and the Thames, rendered that part of the country so unsettled as to necessitate the diversion of this traffic, for the time being, from its direct line to the coast. The word Capascas on it possibly indicates the name of a superintendent or some other official connected with this industry. Measure of upper surface, 24 × 5 inches; inscribed surface, 21 × 3½ inches; thickness, 5 inches; weight, 156lbs. It has a hole on one side for the insertion, as supposed, of some contrivance for lifting it.

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* *Vide* page 12.

Judging from the records, it would appear that the character of Suetonius had in it more of the *fortiter in re* than the *suaviter in modo*, and, whether on public grounds or from private malice, the awful sacrifice of life caused by the Icenian rebellion and its suppression, seems to have influenced the mind of the new procurator, and induced him to make such representations to headquarters that a special envoy was sent from Rome to make enquiries and report on the state of Britain, the result being the recall of Suetonius and the adoption of a moderate and lenient policy of action under his successor, Petronius Turpilianus, who continued in office until A.D. 67, or the Spring of 68, when he resigned, and was succeeded by Trebellius Maximus, a man of equal moderation and prudence, who, in consequence of differences with the then procurator and the army, shortly gave up his command and retired to Gaul to join the standard of Vitellius. There now follows in rapid succession the insurrection of Galba, the death of Nero, by his own hand, on the 9th June, 68, and the consequent extinction of the house of Cæsar, the proclamation of Galba as his successor, the rebellion of Otho, the murder of Galba by the soldiery on the 15th January, 69, the election of Otho in his place, and the competition between Otho and Vitellius for the Empire, terminating in the heroic suicide of the former and the accession of the latter to the Imperial purple. During this exciting time Britain remained in perfect tranquility, and continued to do so under the mild proprætorship of Vettius Bolanus, who had been appointed by Vitellius, until the contention of the latter with Vespasian for supremacy afforded an opportunity, through the removal of so many of the legionaries to take part in it, for the Brigantes, who were perhaps joined by the Silures, to enter into a civil war. It appears that Cartismandua, by a domestic impropriety, had incurred the resentment of her husband and many of her people, who rose in rebellion, and reduced her to such straits that, in spite of the assistance of the Romans, and after several engagements, she was rescued with much difficulty, and Venusius with the Brigantes, temporarily obtained their supremacy and independence.

About this time, December, 69, Vespasian came to the throne, and sent Petilius Cerealis to take the place of Vettius Bolanus as proprætor in Britain, who fought successfully several battles with the Brigantes, but was recalled, and replaced by Julius Frontinus, who reduced to subjection the tribe of the Silures, which had to this time maintained its independence.

We must now go back for a little time to consider the pig bearing the inscription No. 6 on our list. It was found on the 29th September, 1838, at Great Broughton, near Chester. On the side it bears the words DE CEANGI. It measures 24 × 6 inches, has a thickness of 4½ inches, and weighs 179lbs. It was made A.D. 74. The next pig (inscription No. 7) was found by some workmen who were digging for gravel, on Hint's Common, between here and Lichfield, in the winter of 1771-2, four feet below the surface, and three-quarters of a mile north of the Watling Street. I do not know the length or breadth of the lettered side, but the

length of the opposite side is 22½ inches, the breadth of this side 3¾ inches, the thickness 3½ inches, and the weight 150lbs. The inscription in bas-relief, like the others, surrounded by a border of equal height, proves that it was made before the Kalends of July, in the year 76 A.D., when Vespasian was Consul for the seventh time, and his son Titus, who was associated with him in the government of the Empire, was Consul for the fifth time. If my previous conjecture is a correct one, the De Ceang on this and the preceding one proves that they both came from the tribe of the Ceangi, on the shores of the Irish Sea, and, perhaps, originally, from the Isle of Man, and not, as is generally supposed, from Derbyshire. Pliny published his work on Natural History in A.D. 77, and in it he says that "in Britannia" lead "is found in the upper stratum of the earth in such abundance that a law has been spontaneously made prohibiting anyone from working more than a certain quantity of it." Does Pliny refer to Britain generally or to any particular district of it? I think to the former, but good authorities assume that this statement applies to the latter; for instance, Mr. Camden thought Derbyshire indicated, whereas Mr. T. Wright, a recent authority, thinks "that the extensive Roman lead mines at Shelve, in Shropshire, are alluded to." Pliny had been procurator in Spain, was on intimate terms with Vespasian and Titus, to the latter of whom he dedicated his great work, and would probably have access to the despatches of Petilius Cerealis, Ostorius Scapula, and the other generals, from which he would learn much of the proceedings in Britain. Of the ten pigs we have at present examined, two clearly came from the mines on the Mendip Hills, Somersetshire; three from the Ceangi, and probably originally from the Isle of Man, for no mines, except salt mines, have been opened in Cheshire; and five from the Derbyshire mines. Some of the twenty pigs mentioned by Camden, number unascertained, bore the same inscription as No. 7, and very likely came from the Isle of Man also.

With the details I have placed before you, you will be able to judge between us. It must not be supposed that, although about thirty-five years had now elapsed since the Claudian invasion, Britain had become completely reduced to the sway of Rome, for when Julius Frontinus was recalled in the year 78 there was much disaffection and no little disorder. The Ordovices had risen and destroyed a troop of cavalry, and many other tribes were in a very excited state, and in a spirit of almost open revolt. At this critical period, the summer of 78, Agricola arrived on the scene as proprætor. Although late in the season, he advanced against, and nearly exterminated, the Ordovices, and then passed over to Mona and subdued Anglesey. The following year, 79, he established the power of Rome nearly to the borders of Scotland, and although the Emperor Vespasian died on June 24th of this year, singular to relate, from a natural death, and was succeeded by his son Titus, Agricola retained his command, and exercised such an important and beneficial influence on the early history of the Roman subjugation and occupation of this country, that I may be excused for quoting

the words of Hume in his summary of the life of Agricola. "Agricola was the general who finally established the dominion of the Romans in this island. He governed it in the reigns of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. He carried his victorious arms northward; defeated the Britons in every encounter, pierced into the forests and mountains of Caledonia, reduced every state to subjection in the southern parts of the island, and chased before him all the men of fiercer and more intractable spirits, who deemed war and death itself less intolerable than servitude under the victors. He defeated them in a decisive action, which they fought under Galgacus; and having fixed a chain of garrisons between the Friths of Clyde and Forth, he cut off the ruder and more barren parts of the island, and secured the Roman province from the incursions of the barbarous inhabitants. During these military enterprises he neglected not the arts of peace. He introduced laws and civility among the Britons; taught them to desire and raise all the conveniences of life; reconciled them to the Roman language and manners; instructed them in letters and science; and employed every expedient to render those chains, which he had forged, both easy and agreeable to them."—Hume's Hist., vol. 1, p. 9.

Titus succeeded his father, Vespasian, died 13th September, 81, and was followed by his younger brother, Domitian, who was assassinated 18th September, 96. The pigs whose inscriptions number 8, 9, 10, and 11 were made in this reign; the first, I believe, was smelted in A.D. 81, and came from the tribe of the Brigantes. No. 9 came from the tribe of the Ceangi, and was found in Cheshire. Domitian called himself Germanicus, from a pretended victory over the Catti, whom he had never seen. Some of Camden's twenty pigs, number unknown, bear the same inscription as No. 9.

In 1734 two pigs were found at Hayshaw Bank, near Dacre Pasture, in Yorkshire, of the same shape and dimensions, and bearing the same inscription (*vide* No. 10), but one had the additional terminal BRIG, alluding to the Brigantes. The legend in the ablative case should be read Imperatore Cæsare Domitiano Augusto Consule Septimum. Date, A.D. 81. Mr. Yates thinks the mine was worked by private hands. A pig bearing the same inscription as No. 12, with the middle defaced, was found embedded in a wall about 4 feet underground in Common Hall Street, Chester; it is consequently referred to the reign of Domitian. The inscribed surface measures 20½ × 4 inches, and it weighs about 168lbs. It is much thicker at one end than the other.

Nerva followed Domitian, and died 27th January, 98, and was succeeded by Trajan, who died 8th August, 117. Hadrian was proclaimed as his successor, and died 10th July, 138. This Emperor visited Britain A.D. 120, and the following year built the wall between Newcastle and Carlisle. As remains of Roman coal, iron, and lead mines have been found in Northumberland and Cumberland, Mr. Yates concludes that Hadrian evidently planned his boundary so as to include the lead mines within his territory. The pig with the inscription similar to

No. 13 was found in the year 1777, on Cromford Moor, near Matlock; it weighs 126lbs. Another pig, with the inscription like No. 14, was found at Snailbeach Farm, in the parish of Westbury, Salop. Lead is still obtained there, part of the mine being known as the Roman mine. The greatest length of this pig is 22 × 7 inches, the upper surface being 19 × 3½ inches; its weight is 191lbs. Three other pigs, bearing a similar inscription to the last, have been discovered. one in the parish of Shelve, Shropshire, weighing 190lbs, another in the parish of Snead in the same county, and the third was found at Bath, Somersetshire. Presumably they all came from the Shropshire mines.

In removing Saham Wood, in Norfolk, some years ago, three pigs of Roman lead were discovered and sold to the village plumber.

Hadrian was succeeded by Antoninus, and this Emperor two years after his succession, viz., in A.D. 140, extended the boundaries of the Roman province in Britain by building a wall, under Lollius Urbicus, between the Friths of Clyde and Forth. He died on the 7th March, A.D. 161, and was succeeded by Marcus Aurelius, who associated with him on the throne Lucius Verus. Under the latter the Parthian invasion of Armenia was repelled, and Verus adopted the title of Rex Armeniacorum. Verus died in A.D. 169, and his name is commemorated by the pig of lead bearing the inscription of our No. 15. It was found near Bruton, Somersetshire; 1 foot 9 inches long, 2 inches thick, 3½ inches broad, 50lbs. weight; was smelted A.D. 163. The last two pigs of lead bear the names of two private individuals, for though all the mines were the property of the State, some of them were farmed out to persons for a rent or royalty, whilst others were retained by the Government in its own hands. The first of the last two pigs was found near Matlock Bank, a few inches beneath the surface, in 1783; the length of top side was 19 inches, and the breadth 3½ inches; the length of bottom side was 22 inches, and breadth 4¾ inches; weight, 84lbs. It was the property of Lucius Aruconius Verecundus. Mr. Yates thinks that Aruconius was a name of British origin, and that perhaps this Lucius had removed to Lutudar from Ariconium, the modern Western in Herefordshire, and an important mining station of the Romans. The last pig was ploughed up in the year 1848 on the site of an old encampment at Hexgrave Park, near Southwell, Nottinghamshire. It weighs 184lbs., and bears the name of Caius Julius Protius. The Br on the different inscriptions may refer to Britannia or to the tribe of the Brigantes. The Brit and the Britan are undoubtedly abbreviations of Britannia, whilst the Met and Metal speak for themselves. It has been thought by some that the Lut is a contraction of Lutum, washed, from the verb lavo, I wash, and refers to some "process through which the metal had passed," but if we refer to No. 16 we find Lutud, which, to my mind, at once destroys this theory. The Cosmography of the anonymous writer of Ravenna, supposed to have been compiled about the seventh century, contains a list of towns and rivers arranged without any system or method, and includes one called Lutudarum, which

antiquaries have identified with modern Chesterfield. If we adopt the view that Lut and Lutud are abbreviations of Lutudarum, corroborated by the fact that three were found in Derbyshire, and one not far away, in Nottinghamshire, our difficulty at once vanishes.

The contracted words "ex arg" or "ex argent" will be understood from the passage in Pliny where he states that "There are two different sources of black-lead, it being procured either from its own native ore, where it is produced without the intermixture of any other substance, or else from an ore which contains it in common with silver, the two metals being fused together." In some cases it was considered necessary, perhaps, to distinguish these by the term "ex argentum." Hadrian's Derbyshire pig shows signs of having been run at nine or ten different times, and the Hint's pig also bears marks of stratification, very likely due to the process referred to of this extraction of the silver.

Although the miners do not appear to have been very successful in exhausting the ores, those responsible for the extraction of the silver from the lead were much more fortunate, for the Roman lead I, and others at my request, have analysed, has contained the merest trace only of silver.

Mr. Yates reminds us that the mines gave employment to a large number of persons, "principally slaves or condemned malefactors. Criminals were condemned to the mines either for life or for a term of years, according to the nature of their offence, females as well as males being thus punished, but probably did lighter work, such as breaking the ore when brought to the surface."

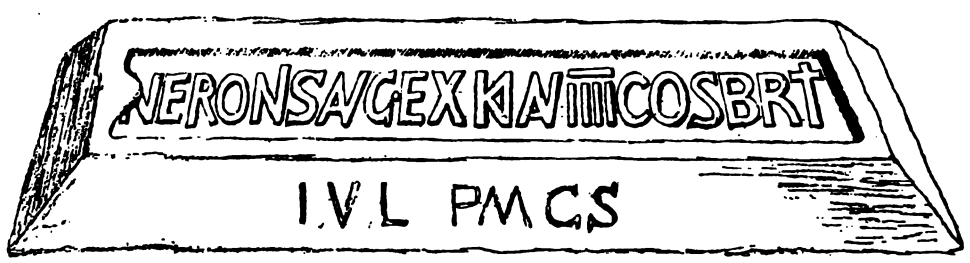
Referring to servitude in the mines as the consequence of defeat, Tacitus puts into the mouth of Galgacus the words, "Ibi tributa, et metalla, et cœteræ servientium pœnæ." (There, tributes, mines, and all the train of punishments inflicted on slaves.) According to Diodorus this servitude was dreadfully severe.

In conclusion, and as accounting for the original loss of the blocks of lead to which I have referred, you must bear in mind the unsettled state of the country, whose face was densely overgrown with wood, and frequently marshy and almost impassable. The great military roads had not then been made, and the paths were narrow, devious, and little beaten.

NOTE.—Since this Paper was read, another pig of lead has been found 23 feet below the surface in an excavation at the Chester Gas Works, about Midsummer, 1886. It bears a similar inscription to No. 6, and was made in the same year as that pig. Its weight is 199 lbs., and it bears on the side the inscription DE CEANGIS. If the theory I have adopted above is correct, it, like Nos. 6, 7, 9, and 11, came originally from the Isle of Man.—C.P.

LIST OF THE INSCRIPTIONS FOUND UPON ROMANO-BRITISH PIGS OF LEAD.

1. BRITANNIC AVG FIL.
2. TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG P M TRIB P VIII IMP XVI DE BRITAN.
3. TI CL TR LVT BR EX ARG.
4. CL TR LVT BR EX ARG.
5. NERONIS AVG. EX KIAN IIII COS BRIT.
6. IMP VESP V̄ T IMP IIĪ COS.
7. IMP VESP VII T IMP V COS DE CEANG.
8. IMP CAES DOMITIAN AVG COS VII BRIG.
9. IMP DOMIT AVG GER DE CEANG.
10. IMP CAES DOMITIANO AVG COS VII.
11. IMP DOMIT AVG GER DE CEAVNG.
12. CAESARI . . . . . VADOM.
13. IMP CAES HADRIANI AVG MET LVT.
14. IMP HADRIANI AVG.
15. IMP DVOR AVG ANTONINI ET VERI ARMENIACORVM.
16. L ARVCONI VERECVND METAL LVTVD.
17. C IVL PROTI BRIT LVT EX ARG.



Nero's Pig of Lead.

The Confiscation of the Birmingham Gilds.

By J. A. LANGFORD, LL.D.

24th February, 1886.

THE history of Birmingham affords ample proof that the inhabitants were, for the most part, early in favour of reformation in religion. The teachings of Wyclif found many followers in the town, and, in the practical and energetic spirit which has always characterised the people, they at once gave outward evidence of the principles by which they were animated. Wyclif died in 1384, but nine years before this event a few earnest and zealous men in Deritend had begun the building of a church, in which they threw aside the patronage of bishop and vicar, and vested the right of appointing the chaplain in the parishioners themselves. The church of St. John, Deritend, was commenced in the year 1375, and it has been, not improperly, called the "first church of the Reformation." It was, without doubt, a difficult undertaking, as it would naturally be opposed by the ecclesiastical dignitaries of the time, but, happily, it was at last successful. "The negotiations," writes Mr. Toulmin Smith, "seem to have been tedious, but men who are in earnest, and who are in the right, will generally carry the day if they quietly but firmly persevere. So it happened with our good fathers who had built themselves this new church in Deritend. They at length succeeded in getting all they wanted. They did not object to let the vicar's [of Aston] dignity be saved by the insertion of a preamble of specious

reasons. They did not cut down the vicar's income, reserving to themselves, in return, the right of marriage and burial in Aston Church. But they secured to themselves and their children, for ever, the right of having divine service celebrated in the church, *which they had themselves already built, and by a chaplain of their own appointment*, absolutely independent of the vicar of Aston."*

The spirit which prompted this noble work had evidently not passed away or diminished in intensity during the century which lies between Wyclif and Luther. The Reformation had many friends in Birmingham, for the ground had been well prepared and good seed had been sown, and the harvest was rich. To the district in which the "first church of the Reformation" had been built, is due the immortal honour of having given birth to the first of the Marian martyrs. John Rogers was born in Deritend. He was a fellow-worker with Tyndale in translating the Bible, and on February 4th, 1555, he was burned at Smithfield, in London, bathing his hands in the flame "as if it had been in cold water." With the Reformation in England came the suppression of the monasteries and religious houses. The famous "Black Book" of the Commissioners of Henry VIII. Legh and Leyton, was presented to Parliament in 1536, and in the same year the dissolution of the lesser monasteries was resolved upon, suppressing all houses whose incomes were below £200 a year, the revenues being granted to the Crown, The greater abbeys followed in 1539, and the vast wealth of these establishments was seized by the king and most of it scattered among his greedy and rapacious courtiers. Englishmen may well rejoice at the Reformation, but few can rejoice at the manner in which it was carried out. Endowments and funds which might have been wisely used in providing education and spiritual instruction for the whole nation were perverted into the most shameful corruption, and diverted into channels almost as vile as the vilest uses to which so much of this wealth had been previously devoted. The plunderers who obtained so large a portion of the possessions of the suppressed houses were little, if any, better men than the monks whom they robbed; and the wealth thus obtained was even less useful to the people, to whose amelioration it should have been applied. It was robbery and spoliation under the sanction of a law passed by the robbers and spoliaters themselves for their own benefit, and not for the benefit of the nation, of which they were the law-makers and rulers.

Birmingham had no monastery, or nunnery, or abbey to be plundered, and so escaped the visits of the Commissioners Legh and Leyton, and was not included in the "Black Book." The town, however, did not long escape a visitation from other Commissioners for a like purpose. We then had two famous Gilds, which had been founded by the charity and piety of noble-hearted Birmingham men for the good of the people, for the "early English Gild was an institution of local self-help which, before Poor-laws were invented, took the place in old times of the modern friendly or benefit society, but with a higher aim; while it joined all classes

* "Men and Names of Old Birmingham," p. 53.

together in a care for the needy and for objects of common welfare, it did not neglect the forms and the practice of religion, justice, and morality."* The objects of these Gilds are to be gathered from their statutes, and their benevolent purposes are of the most varied character. In this respect the Gilds of all countries are almost identical. "If a brother falls into poverty, if he incurs losses by fire or shipwreck, if illness or mutilation renders him unable to work, the brothers contribute to his assistance. If a brother finds another in danger of life on sea or in captivity, he is bound to rescue him, even at the sacrifice of a part of his own goods, for which, however, he receives compensation from the brother assisted, or from the community. English Gild statutes frequently mention loans to be given to brothers carrying on trade, often with no other condition than the repayment of it when he should no longer need it. The sick brother found in his Gild aid and attendance; the dead was buried, for his soul prayers were offered and services performed, and not unfrequently the Gild gave a dowry to his poor orphan daughter. The numerous provisions as to the poor, as to pilgrims, and other helpless people, in the statutes of English Gilds, prove that non-members in want found help from them as well."†

The two in Birmingham were the Gild of the Holy Cross and the Gild of St. John the Baptist, in Deritend. Of the first, Dugdale says, "The originall hereof grew thus: In 6 R. L., Thomas de Shelton, John Colshill, John Goldsmyth, and William atte Slowe, having obtained license to grant lands of xx. marks per annum value, lying in Bermingham and Eggesbaston, for the maintenance of two Priests to celebrate Divine Service daily to the Honour of God, our Blessed Lady his Mother, the Holy Cross, St. Thomas the Martyr, and St. Katherine, in the Church of St. Martin here at Bermingham, within ten years after, the inhabitants of this town, by the name of Bailiff and Commanaltie, of Bermingham, procured a Patent from the same king to found a *Gild* or perpetuall Fraternitie amongst themselves to the Honour of the Holy Cross, consisting not only of Men and Women of Bermingham but other adjacent places, and to constitute a Master, with certain Warders thereof. As also to erect a *Chantrie* of Priests in the said Church for the souls of the Founders and all the Fraternitie. In whose support and all other charges incumbent there were xviii. Messuages, iii. Tofts, six Acres of Land, and xl. *s.* Rent, lying in the above specified Town of Bermingham and Eggesbaston then given thereto. The Lands belonging to which *Gild* were, in 37 Henry 8 valued at xxxi. *l.* ii. *s.* x. *d.*, out of which 3 Priests that say Mass in the Church here had cvi. *s.* viii. *d.* a Piece; an Organist, lxiii. *s.* iiii. *d.*; the Common Midwife iiii. *s.* per annum; and the Bellman, vi. *s.* viii. *d.*, but other Provisions for Brevitie I omit."‡ Of this Gild Mr. Toulmin Smith says, "We are able to trace every step of its beginning, and to see that, while its establishment was the deliberate work of the

* "English Gilds," by Toulmin Smith. Introduction by Lucy Toulmin Smith, p. 14.

† "Ibid:" Preliminary Essay, by Lujo Brentano, p. 103.

‡ "Dugdale's Warwickshire," p. 634.

whole town, and that it was thoroughly carried out for the good of the whole town, it was yet not a 'Gild-Merchant.'"

In his work on English Gilds, Mr. Smith reproduces the text of the "Writ of Inquiry, to be made by a Jury on the spot, touching the Proposed Founding of the Gild." This writ was issued on the 10th of July, 1392, and opens by alluding to the Patent issued in 1382, as given by Dugdale, but which had never taken effect. The names of the grantees in this writ are given as "Thomas Sheldone, since dead, John Colleshille, John Goldsmyth, and William atte Slowe, Burgesses of Bermyngeham;" and now, it goes on, "the Bailiffs and Commonalty of Bermyngeham have prayed us that, instead of these letters patent, which have never, they say, taken effect, we will, for us and our heirs, grant license that they may make and found, in honour of the Holy Cross, a Gild and lasting brotherhood of bretheren and sisteren among themselves in the said town, to which shall belong as well men and women in the said town of Bermyngeham as men and women of other towns and of the neighbourhood who are well disposed towards them." Authority is then given to found a chantry, with chaplains to celebrate divine service, and to do and found there other works of charity "for our welfare and that of the Queen, and for the bretheren and sisteren of the said Gild and brotherhood, and for all good-doers to them, and for their souls' sakes and those of all Christians, according as the ordering and will of the said Bailiffs and Commonalty shall appoint in that behalf." Then follows the list of property with which the Gild was endowed, as given by Dugdale, and already quoted. The King then asks: "Now we wish to know whether or not we can fulfil this prayer without harm or danger to us or to others; and, if it be to the harm and danger of us or others, to what harm and what danger, and to whose harm or danger, and how and where; and further, of whom the said messuages, tofts, lands, and rents are held, and by what service, and what kind and manner of service; and how much the said messuages, tofts, and lands are yearly worth, according to the true value of the same." He then wishes to know who, and how many middle lords stand between him and the founders, and what lands, etc., will remain to them "after the proposed gift;" by whom and by what service they are held, and how much they are worth. Then follows the wise question whether they will be sufficient, "after the proposed gift," to fulfil the "customs and services which are bound to be rendered," and also to meet "all other burdens which it belongs to the holders thereof to bear—such as suits, views of frank-pledge, aids, tollages, watches, fines, redemptions, amerciaments, contributions, and all other charges whatsoever incident thereto." The Jury is also to ascertain the following most important piece of information: "Whether the aforesaid John, John, and William will still be liable to be put on assizes, juries, and all other recognisances whatsoever, the same as their ancestors have heretofore been, *so that, through the proposed gift, and in default of the givers, the neighbourhood may not become charged or burdened more than has been wont.*" The King then commands the Inquisition to be made upon the "oath of good

and law-worth men of your bailivick, by whom the truth of the matter may be able to be better known," and this to be done without delay.

All these questions were answered to the satisfaction of the King, and that without delay, for the writ was issued on the 10th of July and the Inquisition was made on the 1st of August following. On the 7th of the same month license was given to found the Gild and to hold lands in mortmain, and the good work was done. By this license the former one was cancelled, and authority given almost literally in the words of the Writ of Inquiry to found the Gild for the purposes therein declared.

In a most important note to this writ, Mr. Smith gives the reason why the patent of 1382 never took effect. It shows how strongly the reforming spirit had taken possession of the townsfolk. "Wyclif and Piers the Ploughman were then abroad in the land, in the immediate neighbourhood of Birmingham. A chapel had been built in Deritend, in which it is very remarkable that no provision was made for any chantry, or for any services for the dead. The original letters patent of 6 Richard II. contained the clause always inserted in such cases, that the license could not be availed of until the scheme had been approved after full and open inquiry made by the men of the neighbourhood. This seems to have been found hopeless so long as the endowment was intended to be limited to formal choral services. It redounds much to the honour of the endowers that they consented to merge their original scheme in the larger work of a Gild of the whole town."*

Our second Gild was that of St. John the Baptist, of Deritend, but there is very scant material for its history. There is no Writ of Inquiry, no License, and no letter patent, either in connection with its foundation or at any period of its existence. When the Confiscators paid their visit, both in Henry VIII. and Edward VI.'s time, it is called a Chantry. The existence of a separate Gild in Deritend is mainly proved by a long series of charters in the possession of the late Mr. Toulmin Smith. "Not only is this Gild continually named in these, but it is named on account of houses that belonged to it." It was an old Gild, and "bound together all the neighbours there in a close bond of goodwill," and it had possessions in Deritend, Moseley, Saltley, Castle Bromwich, Handsworth, and Erdington, but all became the prey of the courtiers, who knew how to grow rich and fatten on the plunder of property which had been left for works of piety and charity.

The wealth of the greater and the lesser houses had been seized and appropriated but, as might have been anticipated, neither King nor Court were satisfied. There yet remained the Colleges, Chantries, and Gilds which might be plundered, and accordingly in 1545 the infamous Act of 37 Henry VIII. was passed, which placed at the disposal of the Crown all "Colleges, Chantries, and Hospitals in the kingdom, with all their manors, lands, and hereditaments, receiving from him

* "English Guilds," p. 241. Note.

a promise that he would not abuse the confidence of his subjects, but employ the grant to the glory of God and the common profit of the realm."* Thus was handed over to the King for spoliation all "Colleges, Free Chappelles, Hospitalles, Fraternities, Brotherhoods, Guyldes." The net was made large enough to cover all kinds of fish which might be caught worth the taking. The Act was not allowed to sleep, and Commissioners were at once sent out through the kingdom to inquire and report, and Birmingham was now honored with a visit, and its Gilds made to render an account of themselves. Of the "Gilda sancte cruce de Birmingham" they reported that the yearly income amounted to xxxj.*li.* ij.*s.* x.*d.*, yearly outgoing to xxix.li xxd. ob., Et remanet clare per annum xlj.*s.* j.*d.* ob. The report gives a good account of the Gild and its works of charity; it also enables us to form a fair estimate of the population of the time. Unfortunately it begins with an historic blunder, which shows that the Commissioners did not pursue their inquiries into its origin with much care, whatever pains they may have taken to ascertain its income, outgoing, and value. They say:—

"The seyd Gylde was ffounded by Thomas Sheldone and other in the xvjth yere of Kyng Edward the Seconde [it was, as we know, in the 9th of Richard II.] to ffynd certayne prests to syng dyvyne servyce in the parishe churche aforseyde for ever; And to praye ffor the soules of the same ffounders. And in the same towne of Byrmyngham there be M M houselying people. And, at Ester tyme, all the prestes of the same Gilde, wt. dyvers other, be not sufficient to mynyster the sacraments and sacramentalles unto the seyde peaple. Also, there be dyvers pore people ffounde, ayded, and suckared, of the seyde Gylde, as in muney, Breade, Drynke, Coles; and whene any of them dye, they be buryed very honestlye at the costes and charges of the same Gilde, wt. dyrge and messe accordyng to the constitucyons of the same Gilde. And there hath bene no landes nor tenements solde sythene the tyme before lymyted."

It is evident from this report that the Gild was doing its work faithfully and well; relieving the poor, attending to the sick, burying the dead, and performing divine service; and at the same time looking after its property of which neither lands nor tenements had been sold. Of the Gild of St. John the Baptist, which they entitle and designate:

Cantarin de Derettende in parochia de Astone, ac infra Dominium de Byrmyngham, in Comitatu predicto; they give the yearly income at xiij.*li.* xix.*d.*, the outgoing at xiij.*li.* v.*s.* ij.*d.* Et sic in superplus iij.*s.* vij.*d.* and then report:—

"There ys no ffoundacyon of any suche Chauntry, but a certayne composiyon or ordynannce made betwene the prior and munkes of the late monasterye of Tykfforde, whiche ware persons of Aston and Deretende, on that one partye, and Sr. John Byrmyngham, Knyght, and the inhabitans of the same hamlet cauled Deretende, on that other partye, by th assent and consent of one Robert, Byshhoppe of Coventrye and Lycheffelde; that the seyd inhabitans of

* Lingard, v. 96.

Deretende myght have one Chapeleyne to celebrate Dyvyne servyce in a Chappelle house of Saynt John, newleye erected and mayde, and also to mynyster vnto them all Sacramentes and Sacramentalls, Beryinges except; by-cause they be ij. myles dystannt ffrom there parisshe churche, so that, in wynter season, the seyde parisshyoners coulde not go to there parisshe churche wt-out greate dannger of perysshyng. And there be above cc. houselying peaple wythe-in the seyde ij. hamlets. [Deritend and Bordesley.] And at thys present tyme there be ij. prestes; where-of the one servyng the cure and the other teaching a grammar schole. There hathe bene no other landes belongyng to the same Chappelle syns the time before lymyted, more then ys before expressed."

Two important facts are stated in these reports, namely, that Birmingham had two thousand houselying people at this time, and was therefore the "good market towne" which Leland has called it; and that Deritend and Bordesley had two hundred, so that Birmingham had then ten times the number of inhabitants as compared with the two hamlets.

The inquiries of these Commissioners were not followed by any confiscation in Henry's time, for that king died on the 28th of January, 1547, and if the people had any hope that his successor would spare them they were sorely disappointed. The first year of Edward VI. was distinguished by an Act more sweeping in its conditions than that of 1545. This Act placed in the power of the king not only the possessions of chantries, colleges and free chapels, but all the "funds destined for the support of obits, anniversaries and church-lights, and all gild lands possessed by fraternities for the same purpose." The words of the Statute are most comprehensive, and apply to "any manner of corporations, gilds, fraternities, companies or fellowships, or mysteries or crafts;" the king by this Act had power to claim "all fraternities, brotherhoods and gilds, being within the realm of England and Wales and other the king's dominions, and all manors, lands, tenements and other hereditaments belonging to them or any of them, *other* than such corporations, gilds, fraternities, companies, and fellowships of mysteries or crafts, and the manors, lands, tenements and other hereditaments pertaining to the said corporations, gilds, fraternities, companies and fellowships of mysteries or crafts above mentioned." The powers given to the Commissioners were very comprehensive, in addition to surveying all these bodies, they were to assign and appoint the disposition of their lands and property, and the work was to be done within one year next after the Commission to them directed. In pursuance of this inquiry the Commissioners again visited Birmingham, and drew up reports on the condition and value of our two Gilds. These reports, although short, contain some very interesting information, and one of them produced one of the most memorable events in the history of the town. On the Gild of the Holy Cross they report:—

"*The Guilde of Brimincham* was ffounded by one Thomas Sheldon and other, in the xvjth yere of King Henrye the Seconde,* and incorporate, by the name of Mr. and Brethern of the Guilde of Holy Crosse in brymyncham, ffor the maintenannce of certein priestes; whereunto belonge landes and possessions to the yerelye value of xxxij. *li.* xij. *s.* v. *d.* prima facie: wch are nowe, and have bene of longe tyme, connected as well to dedes of charyte and to the common-welth there, as hereafter shall appere . . . . . xxxij. *li.* xij. *s.* v. *d.*

"Whereof,—

"In Rentes Resolute, as well as therle of Warwick as to divers other, going oute of the premisses, lv. *s.* x. *d. ob. qr.*; in stipendes of priestes and other ministers of the churche, xx. *li.* vj. *s.* viij. *d.*; in ffees and annuytes, lx. *s.*; ffor bread and wyne ffor the churche, xx. *s.*; ffor keping the Clocke and the Chyme, xiij. *s.* iiij. *d.*; and in allowance ffor Reparacions of the same possessions, consisting moste parte in tenementes, communibus annis, iiij. *li.* In all . . xxxj. *li.* xv. *s.* x. *d. ob. qr.*

So Remains . . . xvi. *s.* vi. *d. qr.*

Plate and Jewells to the same guilde belonging, viz., three chalices of silver, waying xxiiij. *oz.*, and a nutte with a cover, waying iiij. *oz.*, in all } xxviij. *oz.*

Whereof, ij. chalices, waying xvj. *oz.*, are left ffor Adminis. . . .

Goodes, Ornamentes, and housholld stuffe, are pryced at xlj. *s.* viij. *d.*

"Theare be relieved and mainteigned uppon the same possessions of the same guilde, and the good provision of the Mr. and bretherne thereof, xij. poore persones, who have their howses Rent free, and alle other kinde of sustenannce, as welle ffoode and apparelle as alle other necessaryes.

"Allso theare be mainteigned, wt parte of the premisses, and kept in good Reparasionns, two greate stone bridges, and divers ffoote and daungerous high-wayes; the charge whereof the towne of hitselffe ys not hable to mainteign; So that the lacke thereof wilbe a greate nuysannce to the kinges maties subjectes passing to and ffrom the marshes of Wales, and an utter ruyne to the same towne,—being one of the fayrest and moste proffittable townes to the kinges highnesse in all the Shyre.

"*The said towne of Brymyncham ys a verey mete place, and yt is verey mete and necessarye that theare be a ffree Schoole erect theare, to bring uppe the youthe, being boathe in the same towne and nigh thereaboute.*

"Howselinge people in the same Paroche of Birmyncham M.DCCC."

It will be seen by comparing this report with that presented only about two years earlier that the income and outgoing of the Gild had increased in amount. We also learn in what works of practical benevolence the money was

* It is curious to notice the errors which the Commissioners commit as to the date of the foundation of this Gild. Those of Henry VIII. gave it as the 16th of Edward II., and now Edward VI.'s assign it to the 16th of Henry II., not knowing that it was founded in 1392, by Richard II.

expended. The religious services were attended to, and the poor persons were entirely maintained out of the funds. In addition to this, two great stone bridges, and foul and dangerous highways were kept in good repair, the charge of which the town was not able to maintain. It is most pleasant to see how all authorities agree in their praise of the appearance and industry of Birmingham. It is here described as one of the fairest and most profitable to the king in all the Shire. That such eulogies are well deserved no Birmingham man acquainted with the history of his native town can for a moment doubt.

The last paragraph but one of this report I have printed in italics. It contains the suggestion, afterwards adopted by the king, on which was founded what we once so proudly called our Free Grammar School, now, alas, by the new scheme of Government, deprived of that noble title. The issues of this visit make it one of the most memorable ever paid to the town. For more than three hundred years this school has been in existence, increasing not only in the value of its endowment, but, what is even of greater importance still, in the extent of its educational influence, and the beneficial effect it has on the intellectual culture of the inhabitants. It is called King Edward the Sixth's School, but it ought, in truth and justice, to be called the School of the Gild of the Holy Cross.

This report gives the houseling people at 1,800, while the earlier one to Henry VIII. gave 2,000; this only shows how carelessly in some matters the Commissioners did their work. It is most probably only a guess in both cases, and can only be taken as giving approximately the number of inhabitants.

The Report on the Gild of St. John Baptist states:—

"Ye Chauntrie of Deriatende hath no ffoundasion, But a certaine Composicionn or Ordinannce betwene the Prior and munks of the late Monasteryc of Tykforde, being patrones of the paroche of Aston nere Brymynch^{a}m and Deriatend, on thone partye, and Sr. John Brymynch^{a}m, Knight, and thinhabitantes of Deriatend on thother partye, w^{t} thassent of one Robert, Byshopp of Coventre and Lichfield; That the inhabitantes of the said Hamlett of Deriatend shollde have a priest to celebrate divine service in Chappelle the one newlye therefore erecte, and to minister alle maner of Sacramentes and Sacramentalls (buryinges onely except); In which service are nowe two priestes. And have landes and possessions to the yereley value of xiij. *li.* xix. *d.*

"Agnnist w^{ch}

"In rent resolute due to divers persons, going owte of the premisses, lxxij. *s.* viij. *d.*; To two priestes mynystryng theare, that ys to saye, Sr. Edmunde Kaye (c. *s.*), and Sr. John Mote (c. *s.*), = x. *li.*; amounting in all to xiij. *li.* xij. *s.* viij. *d.*

"Et rem. nil., ffor the s^{r}plusage ys, xj. *s.* j. *d.*

"In Plate and jewells thereunto belonging, lvj. *cz.*

"Whereof one crosse, wayinge i. *oz.*, ys remayninge in the hands of Sr. Fulke Gryville, Knyght, in gage for iiij. *li.*; and chalice in thandes of the Incumbentes, vj. *oz.*

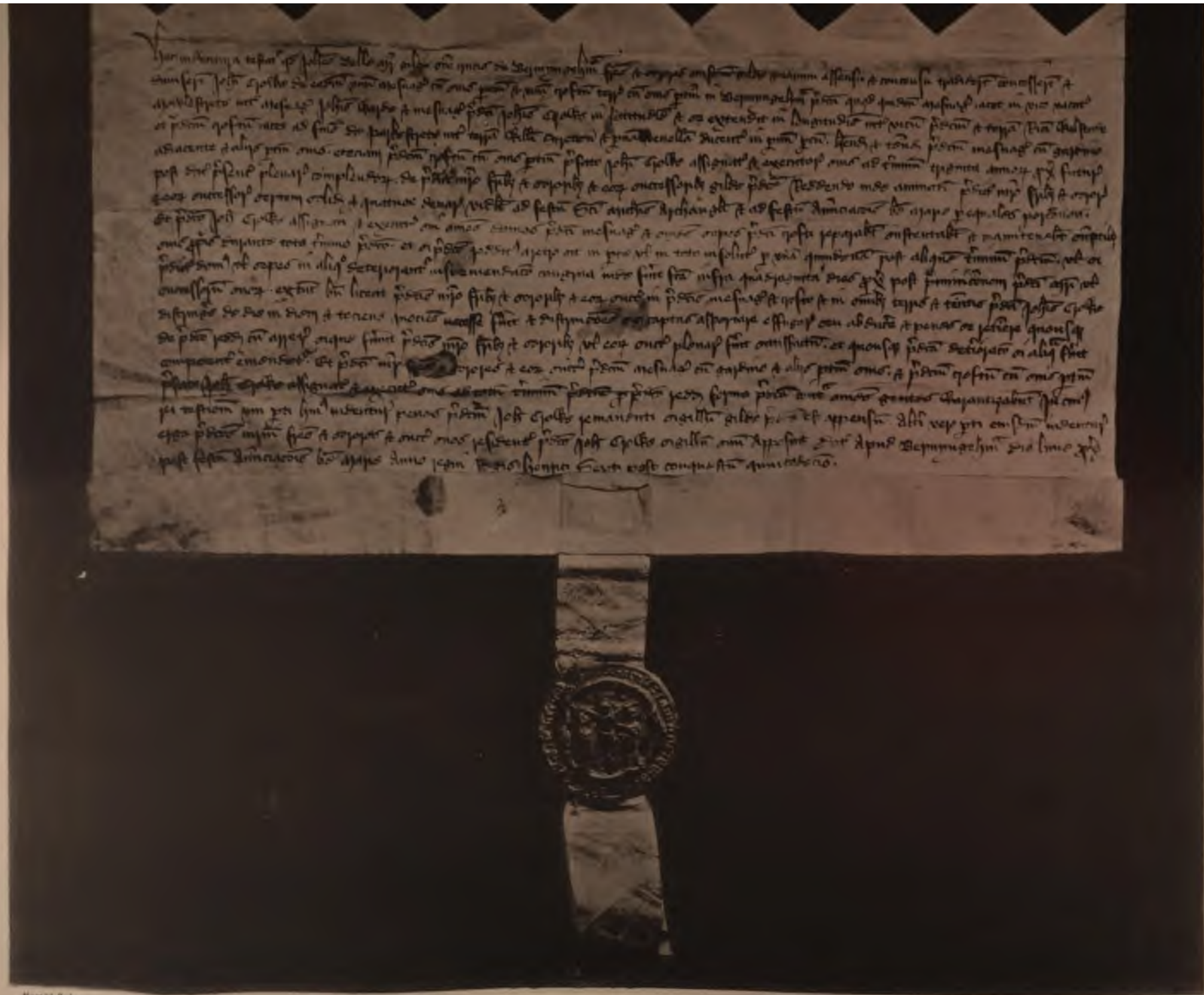
"Goods and ornamentes thereunto belonging are prayed at x. *s.*"

In the margin of this report is written a sentence which shows how little the Commissioners really knew of the history either of the Gild or of the Chapel to which it belonged. It says "Ther is a chapelle at ease for the same towne of Deriatend, being devided ffrom there paroche churche wth a greate Ryver." As we know Deritend Chapel was never a chapel at ease, and was from its first foundation entirely independent of the parish church of Aston. It also provokes a smile to read of Deritend being divided from that church by a "greate Ryver."

It fared worse with the property of this Gild than with that of the Holy Cross. No grammar school, no charitable work was provided out of its funds. Everything was confiscated to the Crown, and went to swell the great horde which the rapacious and insatiable nobles of the time succeeded in dividing amongst themselves. One small part of the spoil, Birmingham obtained to be devoted to the noblest purpose, but Deritend was despoiled of all. Fortunately the chapel escaped, and still remains with its peculiar privilege secured for it by the early followers of the great John Wyclif.

These records of old Birmingham are full of interest in the present day. They bring vividly before us the work done by our forefathers; the changes wrought by the "greatest innovator," Time; and show us how, in the larger history of the country, "one of the fayrest and most proffittable" towns in all the Shire has borne its part in that history, from the earliest records down to the stirring times in which we live. In all the events which make history, Birmingham is eminently rich. Its name holds a fair position in Domesday; it gave the first practical work based upon the liberating doctrines of Wyclif; it furnished the later reformation with its first martyr; it had its share in the confiscations which unfortunately attended that great work, and, unlike many other towns, it succeeded in obtaining back a portion of the spoil for founding a school, which is now one of the finest buildings, one of the most useful institutions, and one of the chief glories of the town.

The illustration to this visit of the Confiscators will bring its readers directly face to face with the past. It is the *fac-simile* of a lease nearly four hundred and fifty years old, which has happily been preserved in the most perfect condition. As will be seen by the translation given it bears the date 1437, and relates to property belonging to the Gild of the Holy Cross. This most interesting lease was discovered by Mr. Joseph Hill. The impression of the seal attached to the lease, is, as well as the lease itself, in an excellent state of preservation. The figures in the Crucifixion, and the inscription, are alike in an almost perfect condition; the latter being clearly legible with the naked eye.



Harold Baker, Birmingham.

Fac simile of lease from Guild of Holy Cross to Jno. Crowe, *in the possession of Mr.* Joseph Hill, *and lent by him for reproduction for this paper.*

Hec Indentura testatur quod Johannes Belle magister gilde sancte crucis de Bermyngeham fratres et sorores ejusdem gilde unanimi assensu et concensu tradiderunt concesserunt et dimiserunt Johanni Crowe de eadem unum mesuagium cum suis pertinenciis et unum croftum terre cum suis pertinenciis in Bermyngeham predicta quod quidam messuagium jacet in vico vocato* Mowlestrete inter mesuagium Johannis Warde et mesuagium predicti Johannis Crowe in latitudine et se extendit in longitudine inter vicuno predictum et terram Ricardi Walstode, et predictum croftum jacet ad finem de Parkestrete inter terram Willielmi Stretton et parvam venellam ducentem in parvum parcum. **Habendum et tenendum** predictum mesuagium cum gardino adjacente et aliis pertinenciis suis, et eciani predictum croftum cum suis pertineuciis prefato Johanni Crowe assignatis et executoribus suis ad terminum triginti annorum proximò futurorum post datam presencium plenariè compleudorum, de predictis magistro fratribus et sororibus et eorum successoribus gilde predicte, Reddendo inde annuatim predictis magistro fratribus et sororibus et eorum successoribus septem solidos et quatuor denarios, videlicet, ad festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli et ad festum Annunciacionis Beate Marie per equales porciones. Et predictus Johannes Crowe assignati et executores sui omnes domos predicti mesuagii et omnes sepes predicti crofti reparabit sustentabit et manutenebit sumptibus suis propriis durante toto termino predicto. Et si predictus redditus a retro sit in parte vel in toto insolutus per unam quindenam post aliquem terminum predictum, vel si predicte domus vel sepes in aliquo deteriorentur nisi emendacio congrua nide fuerit facta infra quadraginta dies proximò post preminicionem† predicti magistri vel successorum suorum ex tunc bene liceat predictis magistro fratribus et sororibus et eorum successoribus in predictis mesuagis et crofto et in omnibus terris and tenementis predicti Johannis Crowe distringere de die in diem et tociens quociens necesse fuerit, et distrincciones‡ sic castas asportare effugare seu abducere et penes se retinere quousque de predicto redditu cum arreragiis si que fuerint predictis magistro fratribus et sororibus vel eorum successoribus plenarie fuerit satisfactum et quousque predicta deterioracio si aliqua fuerit competentè emendetur. Et predicti magister fratres et sorores et eorum successores predictum mesuagium cum gardino et aliis pertinenciis suis, et predictum croftum cum suis pertinenciis prefato Johanni Crowe assignatis et executoribus suis ad totum terminum predictum pro predicto redditu forma predicta contra omnes gentes warantizabunt. In cujus rei testimonium uni parti hujus indenture penes predictum Johannem Crowe remanenti sigillum gilde predicte est appensum. Alteri vero parti ejusdem indenture erga predictos magistrum fratres et sorores et successores residenti predictus Johannes Crowe sigillum suum apposuit. Datum apud Bermyngeham die lune proximo post festum Annunciacionis Beate Marie Anno regni Regis Henrici sexti post conquestum quinto-decimo.

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* "Vacat'" in original.

† Praeminitationem. A threat beforehand.

‡ Districtiones.

This Indenture witnesseth that John Belle, master of the Gild of the Holy Cross of Bermyngeham, the brothers and sisters of the same Gild, with unanimous assent and consent have conveyed granted and let to John Crowe of the same, one messuage with its appurtenances, and one croft of land with its appurtenances in Bermyngeham aforesaid, which certain messuage lies in the street called "Mowlestrete" between the messuage of John Warde, and the messuage of the aforesaid John in breadth, and extends itself in length between the street aforesaid, and the land of Richard Walstode. And the aforesaid Croft lies at the end of "Parkestrete" between the land of William Stretton, and a small lane leading into the Little Park. To have and to hold the aforesaid messuage with the garden adjacent, and its other appurtenances, and also the aforesaid croft with its appurtenances, to the aforesaid John Crowe his assigns and executors, for the term of thirty years next to come after the date of these presents, fully to be complete, of the aforesaid master, brothers, and sisters, and their successors, of the Gild aforesaid. Paying thereof annually to the aforesaid master, brothers, and sisters, and their successors, seven shillings and four pence, viz., at the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, and at the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary, by equal portions. And the aforesaid John Crowe his assigns and executors, shall repair, sustain, and maintain, at their own charges, all the buildings of the aforesaid messuage, and all the hedges of the aforesaid croft, during the whole term aforesaid. And if the aforesaid rent should be in arrears in part, or in the whole unpaid, for one fortnight after any one term aforesaid, or if the aforesaid buildings or hedges should be deteriorated in any way, unless suitable emendation shall have been made thereof within forty days next after a fore-threat of the aforesaid master or his successors, then it will be lawful for the aforesaid master, brothers, and sisters, and their successors, to distrain on the aforesaid messuage and croft, and on all the lands and tenements of the aforesaid John Crowe, from day to day, and as often as shall be necessary, and to carry off, drive, or lead, and retain in their possession, distraints so taken, until satisfaction shall have been fully made for the aforesaid rent with arrearages, if any there be, to the aforesaid master, brothers and sisters, or their successors, and until the aforesaid deterioration, if any there be, be competently emended. And the aforesaid master, brothers, and sisters, and their successors, the aforesaid messuage, with the garden and its other appurtenances, and the aforesaid croft with its appurtenances, to the aforesaid John Crowe, his assigns and executors, for the whole term aforesaid, for the aforesaid rent, in form aforesaid, against all peoples will warrant. In testimony of which matter, to one part of this indenture remaining in the possession of the aforesaid John Crowe, the seal of the Gild aforesaid is appended, but to the other part of the same indenture remaining to the aforesaid master, brothers, and sisters, and their successors, the aforesaid John Crowe has placed his seal. Dated at Bermyngeham on Monday next following the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary in the fifteenth year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth since the Conquest.

Ancient Greek Games.

By PROFESSOR E. A. SONNENSCHEIN, M.A.

25th November, 1886.

"Man is made to be the plaything of God, and this, truly considered, is the best of him: wherefore every man and woman should walk seriously, and pass life in the noblest of pastimes, ... being for the most part puppets, but having some little share of reality."

Plato, Laws, vii. 803.
(Jowett's trans.)

PLATO'S utterance, which I have above quoted, brings us face to face with a striking feature of the Greek character—its earnestness in sport. Modern life is based rather on a dualism in this matter: work is work and play is play. The Greek communities—which relied on slave labour for the performance of the irksome duties of life—had a free hand for converting their play into work. Something of the same kind may be seen in sections of modern society, which possess ample means and leisure. The cricket field, the flower show, the picture gallery, the club, become the serious business of life, the sordid cares of bread-winning drop out of sight. A society so constituted has obvious opportunities of culture and refinement which the work-a-day life of our English towns does not offer. Plato shows us how the philosophic mind of Greece proposed to turn such advantages to the best account: games were to be consecrated as the instrument of culture, not pursued merely for their own sake as a pastime. "Education must begin in the games of children." (Repub. 425.) He will not hear of a variety of pleasures being provided for the young: for "in infancy, more than at any time, the character is engrained by habit." (Laws, vii., 792). Thus it was that the political philosopher hoped to counteract the downward tendencies of a life of pleasure for pleasure's sake—to prevent his nation from becoming, what, in fact, they had already

in part become, a nation like Gœthe's "Titanengeschlecht, dem jede Lust eine Leidenschaft wird."

But we have now to do with Greece as it was, not as Plato wished it to be. I shall, therefore, so far as possible, avoid the discussion of the educational question, so intimately connected with games, and treat of games *per se*. The subject is a wide one. I propose to arrange it under three heads—

1. The Games of the Nursery.
2. The Gymnastic Exercises of the School.
3. The Agonistic Exercises and Social Games of Mature Life.

1. The early years of the Greek child, passed in the women's chambers, under the supervision of its mother and nurse, were relieved by a variety of toys. The rattle (πλαταγή, or κρόταλον), the ball (σφαῖρα), the hoop (τροχός), trundled by a crooked-necked iron, the swing (αἰῶρα) occupied the same position in Greece as in our nurseries: the top (στρόμβος) is as old as Homer. Boys amused themselves with a kind of stilts (καλόβαθρα), and with toy carts (ἁμαξίδες), girls with the inevitable doll, made probably of wax or clay. It is pleasing to hear of children making their own toys. Aristophanes (Nub. 877) speaks of a precocious child that carved ships for himself and made carts out of leather and frogs out of pomegranate peel. Lucian (Somn. c. 2) says that when he got out of school he used to make oxen or horses, or even men out of wax. Plato (Laws, i. 643) recommends that children should have mimic tools given them, in order to amuse themselves with carpentering. But it may be gathered that he did not approve of too many toys, which are apt to discourage originality: he rather praises the "natural modes of amusement which children find out for themselves when they meet." (Laws, vii., 794.) Such were a host of games which did not require any special apparatus: the game of "king" (βασιλίνδα) in which children played at being kings and common soldiers; "odds and evens" (ἀρτιάζειν), a game of guessing; other games of guessing, *e.g.* guessing the number of nuts in the hand; "slap in the dark" (κολλαβίζειν), in which the object was to guess, with closed eyes, who had given a box on the ears; "hunt the slipper" (σχοινοφιλίνδα), a piece of rope being used instead of the slipper; "catch ball" (ἐφετίνδα); "hide and seek" (ἀποδιδρασκίνδα); "heads and tails" (ὀστρακίνδα), played with an oyster shell, blackened on one side; the game of the "pipkin" (χυτρίνδα), in which one child sat in the middle, and was called χύτρα, the others running round and pinching or slapping him until they were caught and had to be the pipkin in turn; the similar game of the "tortoise" (χελώνη); the "brazen fly," a sort of "blind man's buff," prettily described by Pollux: "one child had his eyes tied with a bandage, and turning round cried, 'I will hunt a brazen fly,' and the others answered, 'You will hunt but you will not catch,' and struck him with thongs of leather till one of them was caught." "Kiss in the ring" (κυνητίνδα),

is an ancient institution, though we have no details as to how it was played. Then there were games of strength, like "tug" (διελκυστίνδα), a sort of "French and English;" "pulley tug" (σκαπέρδο), in which the object was to haul one's opponent up by means of a rope passed through a pulley. "Ride a cock horse" (κάλαμον περιβῆναι) was an amusement which we hear of both in Greece and Rome ("equitare in arundine longa."—*Horace.*)

2. We now turn to gymnastics as part of school training. A complete school course (ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία) included three parts, γραμματική (reading, writing and arithmetic), μουσική (poetry and music), γυμναστική (gymnastics). The Greek boys (and in some states, *e.g.* Sparta, girls too) practised in the palaistra, or gymnastic school; an institution kept generally, like all other schools, by a private individual (παιδοτρίβης). The Gymnasium was a wholly different institution intended for adults, of which more hereafter.

It was characteristic of Greek education that it regarded physical development as of equal importance with mental culture. If it was the function of science and art to produce what Plato called a "musical soul," it was the province of gymnastics, in its widest sense, to produce a graceful body (εὐρυθμία). The Greeks realized the truth on which Montaigne insisted when he said, "It is not a mind, not a body that we have to educate; it is a *man*, of whom we are not to make two beings." And Lucian, in his Apology for Gymnastics, lays as much emphasis on a man's duty to his body as Kingsley did on his condemnation of physical sins, sins against the body. In a word, the Greek ideal of life was health—and health can never mean less than a sound mind in a sound body.

On the other hand, Plato is fully alive to the dangers of excessive athletics, and is strong in his disapproval. The man who neglects the muses, "having no taste for any sort of learning, or enquiry, or thought, or music, grows feeble and dull and blind . . . . and ends by becoming a hater of philosophy . . . . like a wild beast, all violence and fierceness . . . . with no sense of propriety and grace." (Repub. iii., 411.) This protest would seem to show that exclusive devotion to athletics was an actual danger of the times.

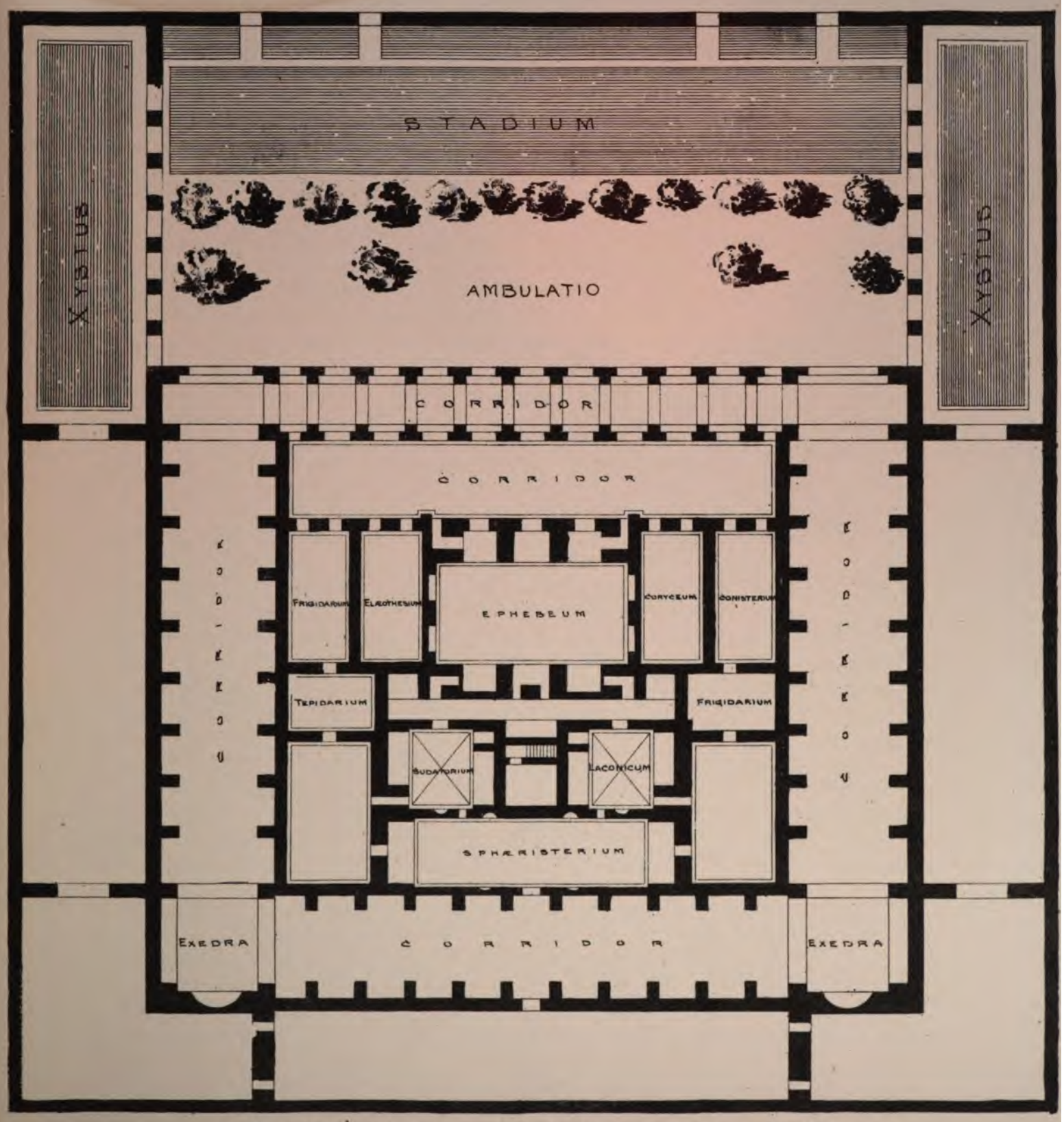
Among the exercises of the palaistra were running, leaping, boxing, wrestling, fencing, throwing of the discus, javelin throwing, archery; we hear also of various calisthenic exercises designed to strengthen the muscles—such as maintaining a fixed attitude of body for a length of time, climbing of ropes and rope ladders. Wrestling especially was cultivated as a "science:" all sorts of technical expressions are found in connection with it, which it is now no longer possible to interpret with certainty; but it is clear that the art included not only various throws (σχήματα) and feints and modes of tripping (ὑποσκελίζειν), but also spraining and garotting. A throw did not conclude the contest; the struggle was continued on the ground until one of the antagonists was unable to move arms or legs. (Fig. I.—"A Throw.")

It deserves notice that in all their gymnastics the Greeks thought more of grace and symmetry (εὐρυθμία) than of strength. In proof of this I may mention a remark of Plato, which deserves careful consideration even at the present day. He protests against what I may call right-handedness. "In the use of the hands we are in a manner lame, by reason of the folly of nurses and mothers; for although our several limbs are by nature balanced, we create a difference in them by bad habit." (Laws, vii. 794 f.) He demands that in spear throwing a boy ought to be taught to use both his hands equally—to be ambidextrous: "if he had a hundred hands he ought to be able to throw a hundred darts:" and he points out that the boxer or wrestler sacrifices an obvious advantage in not being able to fight from either side. It is interesting to observe the indirect evidence afforded by this passage, that the Greeks boxed with their right hand forward and drew the bowstring with their left hand.

A word too about dancing, which the Greeks included among school exercises, though I gather from Plato (Laws, vii., 814) that it was not practised in the palaistra. Nothing shows us more clearly that the object of Greek athletics was not so much strength as grace. According to Lucian and Plato, the object of dancing is to express mimetically some feeling or action. Plato tells us that there were two main classes of dances—the warlike or Pyrrhic dance, and the dance of peace (τὸ εἰρηνικόν) or order (ἡ ἐμμελεία). See Laws, vii., 816. The Pyrrhic dance, performed by several men in armour, imitated the movements of attack and defence; the dance of peace represented either "the escape from some danger," or else "the consciousness of prosperity."

The Greeks would have considered most modern dances as exceedingly primitive in form, and some as wanting in that orderliness which entitled a dance to be classed as one of the ἐμμελείαι. The mimetic character of Greek dancing reminds one of the elaborations of the modern ballet.

3.—All these and other school exercises were cultivated by adults in the Gymnasium, an institution of which a word must now be said. The ancient Gymnasium supplied the place of both University and Club. Its construction may be best observed in the remains discovered by Leake, at Hierapolis, in Asia Minor, which, in the main, tallies with the precepts given by Vitruvius. At Ephesus are the remains of a gymnasium, evidently of Roman origin, though the essential features of a Greek gymnasium are retained. Its size is about 350 feet by 280 feet; it included not only rooms for youths to practise in, special rooms for games at ball (κωρυκειον), chambers for anointing the body with oil and sprinkling it with dust, and baths of various descriptions, but also halls called exedrae, which philosophers used as lecture rooms. The Gymnasium thus became the general resort of men who desired intellectual or physical recreation or improvement. Among its other functions, it served as the place of preparation for the gymnastic exercises of the great public



GROUND PLAN OF GYMNASIUM AT EPHESUS

Fig II

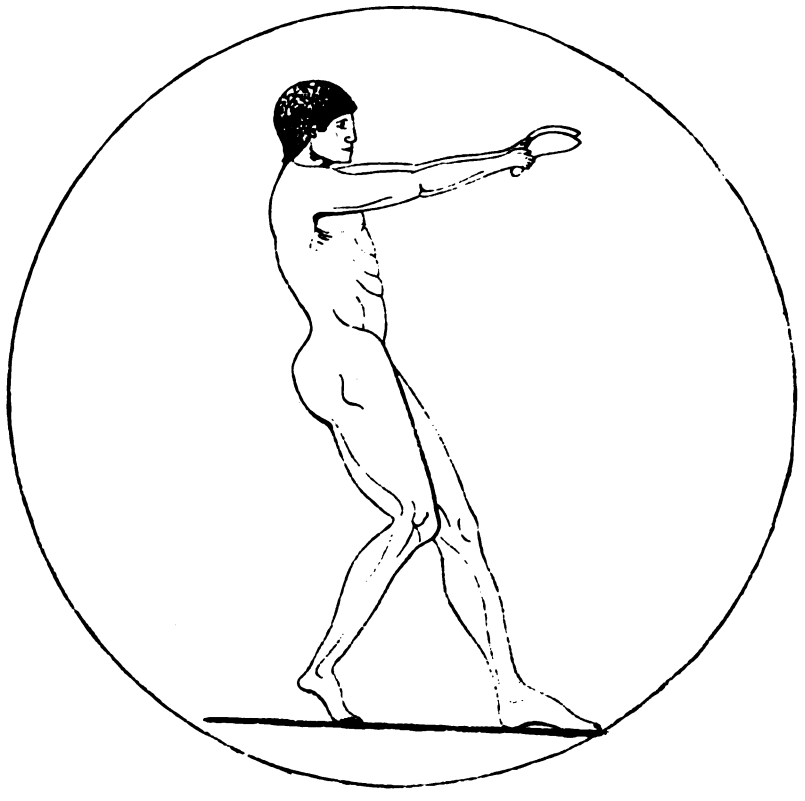


Fig III

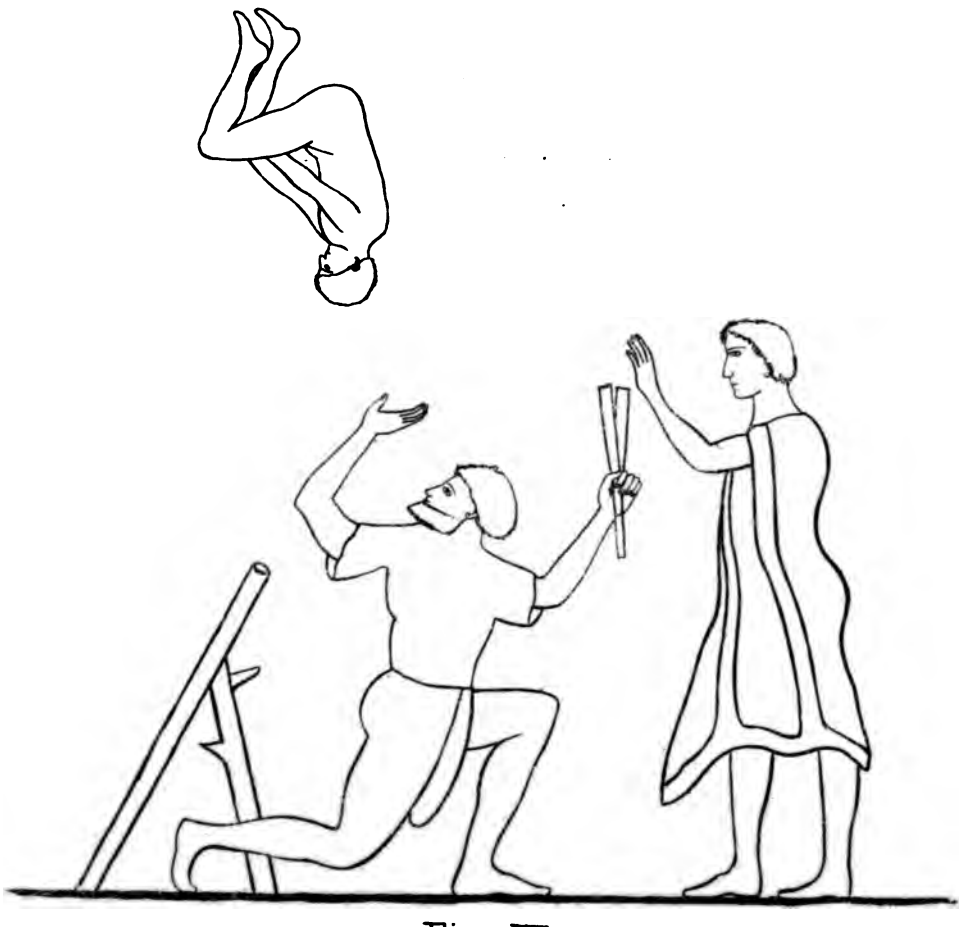


Fig IV

festivals of Olympia, the Isthmus and Nemea. (Fig. II.—"Ground Plan of Gymnasium at Ephesus.")

The general direction of the Gymnasium was vested in an official called the Gymnasiarch. To be Gymnasiarch was at once a high honour and a serious burden — one of those public duties called liturgies, which the Athenians devised as a tax upon wealth. The Gymnasiarch had to maintain the athletes who were preparing for the public contests, and to defray the incidental expenses of training and teaching. The teachers were called Gymnastæ and were expected to have made a scientific study of gymnastics in relation to health; they were assisted by a body of subordinate officials called Aliptæ (Anointers); the exercises were also superintended by a body of inspectors, called σωφρονισταί, who, like the teachers and assistants, were paid by the Gymnasiarch.

Undoubtedly the most interesting aspect of Greek sports is that presented by the great agonistic contests to which I have already alluded. The most important competition was the Pentathlon; victory in which consisted in gaining three out of five distinct events—running, leaping, throwing of the discus, throwing of the javelin, and wrestling. The ancient mode of leaping deserves notice: the leap was taken from a board, called βατήρ, and the leaper carried in his hands weights, called leaping stones (ἁλτῆρες). (Fig. III.) It is a well-established fact that by the skilful use of these weights the length of the jump can be greatly increased. But the distances declared by several ancient authorities to have been achieved by a certain Phayllus are altogether past belief. He is said to have performed a jump of 55 feet; the highest English record is apparently 29 feet 7 inches for a running jump, 5 lb. weights being used. We have a record of 49 feet 3 inches; but this was done by the hop, step and jump. Is it possible that the βατήρ was sometimes a spring board? It appears from a wall painting in an Etruscan burial chamber that the βατήρ was sometimes raised to a great height above the ground.

Besides the long jump there was the high jump, which appears from ancient monuments to have been combined with a somersault. A man stands below the jumper ready to support him with one hand. (Fig. IV.)

The discus was a heavy piece of cast iron or stone in the shape of a lens, like a small shield without a handle. A discus found at Ægina weighs about 4 lbs. (Fig. V.—"Throwing the Discus: First Position.")

Boxing (πυγμή) formed no part of the Pentathlon—but was practised in certain Greek states; at Sparta, curiously enough, it appears to have been forbidden as tending to brutality. The boxers wore gloves, which were intended not to lighten the blows but to make them more dangerous: straps of leather (ἱμάντες) were fastened round the hands and arms; sometimes even iron rings and pieces of hardened leather were fastened to the straps; which were then called μύρμηκες. (*cf.* Virgil, Aen. v.)

The Greeks also practised a combination of wrestling and boxing, called the pankration: in this no gloves were worn: the blows were dealt with the open hand, not with the fist.

Space does not permit me to discuss chariot and horse racing in detail; the latter was practised at the Panathenaic festival.

I must hurry on to say a few words about boat racing, a form of sport which seems, as Prof. Gardner has shown, to have been well known to the young men of the maritime states. At the Isthmian and Actian games, races in light boats were a special feature, and coins of Corcyra have been found bearing evidences of boat races in the country of the ancient Phæacians.* That the ancients gave feminine names to their ships is known from Virgil; the triremes, which race, in the fifth book, are called Pristie, Chimæra, Centaurus, Scylla: the following are translations of some of the names of Corcyræan racing boats—Courage, Liberty, Fair Game, Good Order, Revel, Victory, Pallas, Fame, Phosphorus. That Attic youths (Epheboi) went through a severe course of training, like that of England, is proved by an important series of inscriptions recently discovered (see Dumont, Essai sur l'Ephébie Attique); and these contain several distinct mentions of boat racing. It appears that boat races were a feature in the Panathenaia, and also in several other festivals: at the Aianteia, celebrated in honour of Ajax, the Epheboi went over to Salamis; at the Munychia, they raced round the Peiraeus to the Temple of Artemis in Munychia.* We have here unmistakeable evidence of boat races, in which the rowers were not slaves but the picked youth of Attica: the triremes in Virgil are also to be thought of as manned by heroes (triplici pubes quam Dardana versu Impellunt. Aen. v., 119), like the vessel of the Argonauts. [Fig. VI.—"Ancient Racing Boat.]

I will conclude with the mention of certain forms of sports, in the narrower sense of the term. Hunting was much practised in those parts of Greece (or Sparta) which possessed game. Xenophon's tract on hare hunting shows us the enthusiasm of a genuine devotee.

Plato is stern in his condemnation of angling (Laws, vii., 823); fowling he calls a pursuit hardly worthy of a freeman; but he encourages the hunting of quadrupeds with horses and dogs. He evidently regards the latter form of sport as alone calculated to train a man in courage and resource.

Quail and cock-fighting (ἀλεκτρυονομαχία) were much in favour in Greece, and great attention was given to the breeding and training of the birds. Alcibiades used to carry a favourite quail under his cloak. Themistocles is said to have established an annual entertainment of cock-fights after the battle of Salamis. Before the fight the cocks were fed with garlic, which was supposed to increase their spirit and strength. Hence the use of the phrase ἐσκοροδισμένος "garlic fed," applied to persons in Aristophanes (Ach. 165, Eq. 494) in the sense of "choleric."

* Prof. Gardner in Journal of Hellenic Studies, vol. ii.

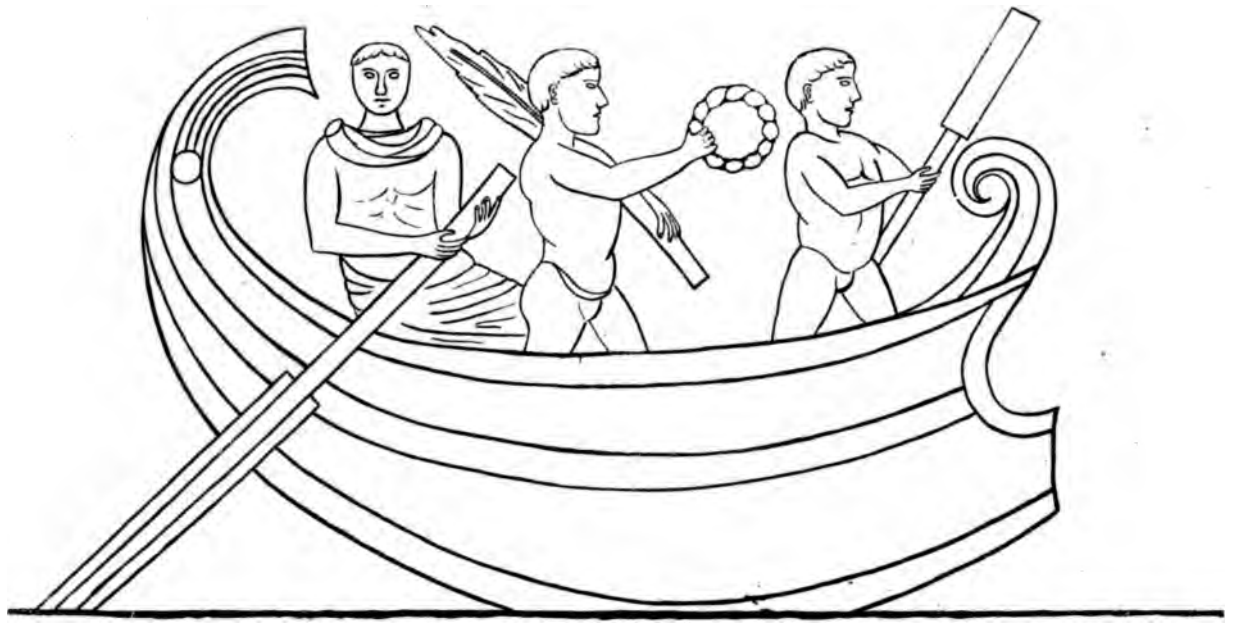


Fig VI

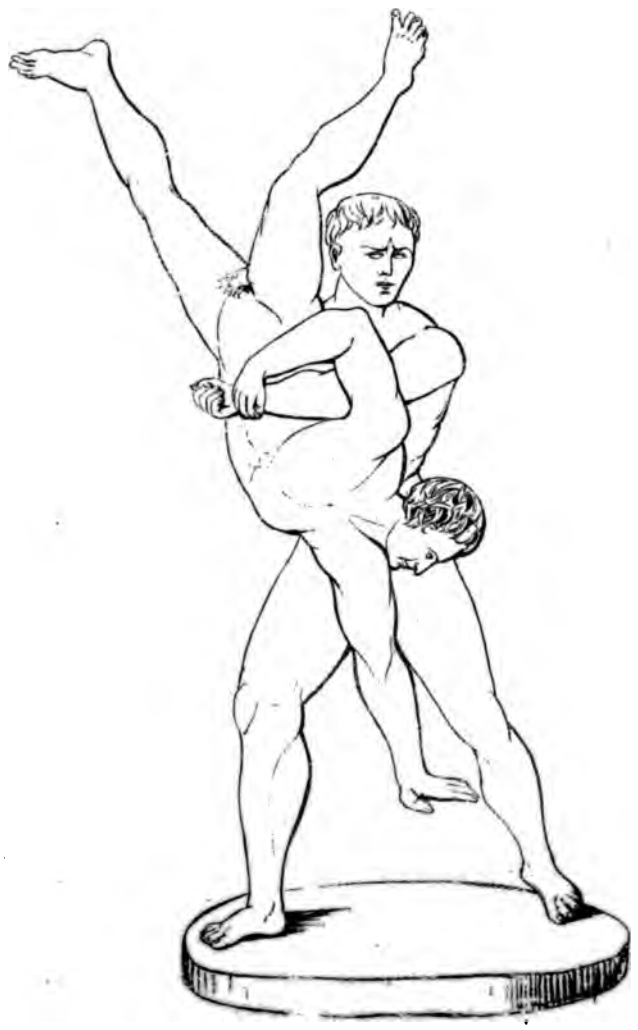


Fig I

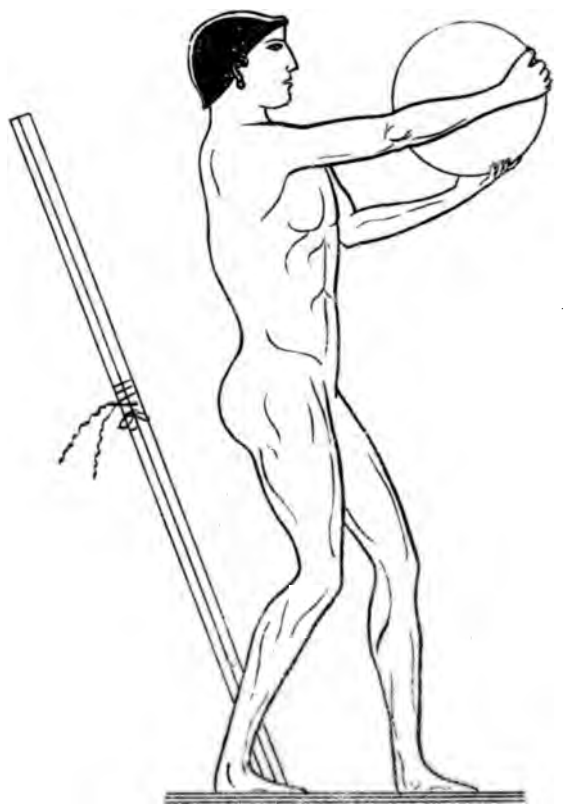


Fig V

Plato (Laws, vii., 789) speaks of this amusement with some disapproval, as often carried to excess at Athens. He ridicules the persons who were to be seen "with a big bird tucked under the arm and a smaller one in the hands, going for a walk of many miles for the sake of health—that is to say, not their own health, but the health of the birds." This devotion was not purely altrustic: large sums were often staked on the issue of these fights.

I have no time to speak of the many social games known to the Greeks. I must content myself with mentioning a very few names: "dice" (κύβοι), "draughts" (πέττεία), "kottabos," and the game of "cities" (πόλεις παίζειν), which resembled our chess.

A comparison of ancient and modern games shows that the Greeks did not develope to such high perfection certain particular forms of athletics as we do. They had no game that took the position of our cricket or football. We hear, indeed, of an Eleven at Athens, but further investigation reveals them to have been a body of police officers. It has been said that the ancients did not understand games in which one plays for one's side rather than for personal victory. I doubt whether this is fair; in their "tug," and a certain Spartan game, called ἐπίσκυρος or ἐφηβική, two sides contended. The latter appears from Hesychius to have been played in a marked court: the two parties were separated by a line called σκῦρον, and the object was to drive the opposite party out of their court. But a still better proof is furnished by the λαμπαδηφορία, or torch race, in which it is probable that several *chains* of runners competed. The object was to carry a lighted torch to the goal: the course was divided into a number of spaces, and each runner, having carried the torch a certain distance, handed it on to another; the victory of the last belonging to the whole chain.

νικᾶ δ' ὁ πρῶτος καὶ τελευταῖος δραμών.

Aeschylus, Agamemnon.

"And first and last alike they win the race." We must not forget the boat races, in which victory belonged to a whole crew.

I fancy the Greeks would have become enthusiastic cricketers, had the game been known to them. Whether their legislators would have approved of football is less certain: they might have regarded it as developing strength to the disadvantage of grace and dignity, εὐρυθμία and ἐμμελεία.

But if they had no cricket or football, they had, on the other hand, a far greater variety of games, and this variety contributed to the all-round development of the body. Nor can we rival them at all in the artistic setting of their athletic sports: beautiful as an English boat race on the Isis or Cam, or an English cricket field is, neither can compare with the magnificence of the Olympic festival, where natural scenery, marble temples, and a Greek sun lent their dazzling beauty to the joint worship of health and beauty.

Hospital of St. John Baptist, Coventry.

By W. G. FRETTON, F.S.A.

December 29th, 1886.

THIS Hospital, like many other kindred institutions of the Middle Ages, originated from the absolute necessity of making some provision for the relief of the sick, infirm, and permanent poor. There was no nationally organised system to provide for such like emergencies, and had it not been for the obligation of dispensing charity, which was one of the important duties the religious fraternities had to perform, and for the general spirit of hospitality every person of any means felt bound to practise, a widely spread distress and poverty must have ensued. The office of almoner, whether at the monastic gate, or at the baron's castle, was no sinecure in distributing relief to the wandering poor; and a somewhat uncertain extent of aid could generally be obtainable from the guilds by travelling artisans, but for the permanently afflicted and the aged a special provision had to be made, and, when practicable, a suitable building erected and maintained.

Such a conviction had evidently strongly impressed itself on the mind of Edmund, who was Archdeacon of Coventry from 1160 to 1176, with reference to the need of such an institution in Coventry. He was clearly a man of much influence, determined spirit, and considerable means. Laying the case before Lawrence, Prior of the Benedictine Monastery from some time previous to 1144, till his death, in 1179, he pleaded with such success that he procured a grant of land, being a part of the possessions of the priory by virtue of a tenure of Frank Almoigne (an obligation of the performance of a spiritual service), and

having obtained this grant, Edmund himself, after procuring a confirmation of the gift from the Archbishop of Canterbury, erected the necessary building thereon, and this house for the reception of the poor and infirm was permanently established, and dedicated in honour of St. John the Baptist. It is this grant of the land on which the hospital stood that caused Prior Lawrence to be regarded as one of the founders thereof, though the initiation of the plan and consummation of the work is plainly due to the vigorous action and generosity of the Archdeacon.

Sharp was of opinion that this hospital was built on the site of the nunnery, destroyed by Edric in 1016, and founds his surmise on the fact of an old circular column having been discovered below the level of the present building in 1794, when the ancient front was taken down to widen the street: this fragment was taken out and placed in grounds at the north-east corner of the church of the hospital (till lately used as the Free School). It is, however, much more likely to have been one of the piers of the original church of the twelfth century, as it coincides with the architecture of that period, and was doubtless a portion of the church erected by Edmund, and is indeed the only part left, apparently, of the structure built by him, the whole of the present building being of much later date.

We have but little information relative to the early struggles of this charitable institution. In 1221, Pope Honorius III., by his bull dated 15th Calends of June (May 18), and addressed to the governor and brethren of St. John's Hospital, granted them special protection for their persons and possessions, and distinctly names certain lands at Smercote (in Bedworth parish), together with the assarts, houses, and other things belonging thereto, and which Dugdale considers as having been a portion of the property given to them on the foundation of their house. In 1249, Roger de Montalt and his wife Cecily, who were such liberal benefactors to the Priory, made a reservation in favour of this hospital in their grant of the manor of Coventry, stipulating that the forester of the prior and convent was to deliver every week a cart load of wood out of the estate to the brethren here. On the 24th of July, 1261, Henry III., being then at Coventry, granted, at their request, letters of protection for seven years, extended also to all messengers and others authorised by the master, brethren and *sisters* to solicit alms for the support of the institution, and, in addition to this, strongly recommended it as deserving of liberal contributions from those who desired reward of God and thanks from Him. This is the first recorded mention of *sisters* in connection with this hospital, although, from the nature of the institution, the female element could hardly have been dispensed with.

Popes Urban IV. and V. granted them exemption from all secular exactions, and benefactors were not slow in recognising the claims of the house to their liberal support.* In 1327, Bernard de Arley gave four messuages, two and a half acres of wood, and twenty shillings rent in Coventry and Bedworth. In 1328,

* In the 7th of Ed. I., (1278), this Hospital held ten acres of land (?arable) and two acres of meadow at Heath, in Hill Wootton, now a hamlet in the parish of Leek Wootton, near Warwick.

Nicholas Crumpe, of this city, gave twenty acres of land, one rood of meadow, and thirty shillings rent, lying in Stoneleigh, Harnale and Coventry. In 1341, Richard Southam, priest, gave three messuages, six acres of land and half an acre of meadow, in Coventry; and in the same year, Henry Page, of Wellsborough, gave five messuages in Coventry. In 1347, John de Filungley gave four messuages and eleven shillings rent in Coventry. In 1383, John de Melton, priest, John Smyth, hosier, and Thomas Marchall contributed one messuage in Coventry. In 1386, Hugh de Gaydon, vicar of Merton, and William Suett, rector of Southam, granted four messuages, five shops, and twelvepence rent in Coventry, the latter supplementing his gift in 1393 with four messuages, forty acres of land, and twenty shillings rent in Coventry, with two acres of wood in Bedworth, and in the same year he again associated himself with Hugh de Gaydon in an additional grant of five messuages, twelve cottages, and eight shops in Coventry. Besides the income derivable from the rental of all these properties, the house had a daily allowance of bread, beer, and two messes of meat sufficient for two monks, amounting to the yearly value of £14 13s. 2d., regularly accounted for in the charges of the Priory, and continued to the hospital from its foundation. In 1387, Lawrence Hunte, of Coventry, gave a house in Broadgate, which he had received as a gift from Henry Hunt, vicar of Nuneaton, to his feoffee William Suett, the aforementioned rector of Southam, directing that, with the licence of the king and the good offices of John de Schepey, dean of Lincoln Church, he should give it to Richard de Westeley, master, and the brothers and sisters of St. John's Hospital, of Coventry, to found a chantry and provide a priest to celebrate every day for his soul, and all the faithful deceased, by note (or low voice as at celebration of mass), "Inclina, or Deus cujus miseracoe," or other prayer, at the will of the priest, such priest to be paid weekly eightpence; and also for three or four days before or after the anniversary of his death, the master, etc., to sing Placebo and Dirige and the mass of Requiem before the high altar, with two wax candles burning between the high altar and the choir; and on the day of anniversary for ever to give a silver penny to one hundred poor persons severally, to pray for his soul, etc., which money issues from the rent of a tenement of Lawrence Hunte, in Earl Street; and on every the above anniversary day to give to the principal sister 6s. 8d., and to the other sisters 3s. 4d. for the reparation and support of their garments, issuing from the dowry of the said messuage, belonging to Isolde, relict of Lawrence Hunte. After her death, the principal sister to receive ten shillings and the other sisters five shillings. The sisters to say on the anniversary the Psalter of the Blessed Virgin, with the Pater noster, as accustomed, and especially remembering the Dean of Lincoln in their prayers, for his kindness to the hospital during life. That the grant of Lawrence shall be read annually, and that the brothers and their successors should swear before the Lord Prior, to faithfully observe the above forms, to which they affixed their common seal in the said hospital. I give the translation of this deed, which is dated October 16th, 1387,

in full, as a sample of the stipulations made in grants of this kind; the original deed was in the Staunton Collection, and perished, with many others, in the calamitous fire at your Free Library. William Suett not only carried the pious wish into effect, but augmented another chantry, known as "Prests," in connection with the altar of St. Mary the Virgin, in the church of the hospital, in the year 1398. The deed of gift is curious, from certain place names mentioned therein, a house in Dog Lane called Le Derne place. This thoroughfare was just without the wall, and is now called Leicester Street, but its old name of Dog Lane is as often quoted as the new: four fields are also specified, Dalby Leasow, Tyneton, Lewynne's, and Long Meadow Fields. Suett provides for a priest to sing mass daily, to have a chamber and his victuals the same as his brother priests in the hospital are accustomed to have, the priest to have forty shillings in silver annually in four quarterly instalments. If he misconducts himself and refrains from amendment after three admonitions, the master to remove him in eight days and place another priest in his stead; the books, cups and other ornaments of the chantry to be found by the master. This grant, signed by William Suett and the Archdeacon of Coventry, bears date August 2nd, 1398, and another instrument recorded the appointment of Richard Bentally as chantry priest, in January, 1405. In 1414 a difference sprang up between the master of this hospital and a certain John Yate, Esq., respecting the right of possession of certain lands and tenements, formerly the property of Yate's father, in which the son appears to have had only a life interest. The question was decided by six arbitrators, who determined that all the charters, writings, muniments and evidences relating to the said property should be delivered to the prior and convent of Coventry in the interest of the master, and that the hospital should reimburse Yate £20 for his outlay on a new house he had built on part of the land, and further pay him £20 a year during his life. In consideration, the master and brethren of the hospital assign to John Yate and his wife Katherine, one messuage in Cow Lane, near the gate leading into Cheylesmore, for their lives, at a rent of 46s. 8d. yearly, John Lee and Richard Crosby, Prior of the Benedictine Monastery, being security for the fulfilment of the covenant on both sides. The usual obituary prayers for the departed Yateses, of which a goodly number are mentioned, is also guaranteed as a part of the contract. In 1424 a contention arose between Nicholas Crosby, who had been vicar of Trinity Church for the previous three years, and the master of the hospital, respecting certain fees, tithes and oblations made at the administrations of the sacraments in the chapel of the hospital, which at that period was extra parochial. The vicar charged the master with encroaching on his parochial rights and with illegally retaining such offerings, and the settlement of the question was vested in the hands of Richard Crosby, the Prior, who decreed that, in pursuance of ancient custom, the master should administer the sacraments as heretofore, and baptize the children of residents within the precincts of the hospital, by permission of the cathedral church, but saving and

excepting all oblations, tithes, goods and other privileges which of right belonged to the vicar of Trinity; that the master should pay to the vicar the sum of £15 6s. 8d. in satisfaction of the damages and injuries sustained, and a further sum of 6s. 8d. yearly on the feast of All Saints, as an additional indemnity. The vicar of Trinity was also prohibited from any interference with the internal arrangements of the hospital. Both parties being bound in a penalty of £100 in case of nonfulfilment of the conditions. This agreement was signed by the master and vicar, August 18th, 1424, ratified by the Prior in the chapter house of the cathedral on the 28th of October following, and confirmed by the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, at Eccleshall, August 17th, 1426. This deed bore the seals of the prior, master and vicar. I quote this rather fully, as it is another of the "lost chords" which perished in the fire.

Following closely on the complications with the vicar of Trinity, disputes arose with the Priory itself, and two arbitrators were appointed to consider and determine their differences, which seem to have arisen from an assumption of control over the hospital by the monastery to a much greater extent than the master and his fraternity were willing to accede to. They were bound to admit that their institution owed its foundation to Lawrence, a former prior, but they evidently objected to the perpetuity of officiousness on the part of his successors. The investigation was opened in the chapter house of the monastery, on the 29th of March, 1425, the prior and the greater part of the monks, and the master of the hospital and the majority of his brethren, being present. The result of the enquiry was a very comprehensive one, and was practically a reconstitution of the hospital. The arbitrators declared that the prior and convent were the founders and patrons of the hospital, and that the monks had the first claim to the prayers of the hospitalers, and next to them the archdeacon was to be specially remembered in their devotions. Leofric and Godiva were also to be included in their suffrages in consideration of the daily provision for two brethren from the table of the refectory of the monastery which the "grim earl" and his countess had founded. The master, on his institution, was to take an oath of fidelity and obedience to the prior and convent, and faithful execution of the duties of his office; he was to be careful in preserving and augmenting the revenue of the hospital, and in administrating the funds thereof according to the intentions of the founders. Power was given to the monastery to appoint visitors, not exceeding eight persons, to inspect the hospital at least once a year, but they were not to remove any member of the community for any alleged offence or neglect without sufficient cause and proof. The possessions, rents, rights, goods, etc., of the hospital, were to be vested in the master for the time being, but he was not to dispose of any property belonging thereto without the consent of the prior, nor to alienate or lessen the same. Each brother or sister on election was to make a profession, in writing, to the prior, that they would be of good conversation, chaste and obedient to all lawful and canonical commands, and such of them as

did not understand the latin formula in which the profession was usually made might make it in the vulgar tongue.

The master was to be in priest's orders, of blameless life and honest conversation; he was required to hold a meeting of his community once a week, when he was empowered to inflict punishment for all minor breaches of regulations committed, or duties neglected, by the brethren and sisters, but all graver offences were to be left to the correction of the prior. Divine service was to be performed duly according to the use of Sarum, those among the brothers and sisters who were sufficiently learned were to say the Hours of the Virgin with the Psalter, those among the lay members of the fraternity who were illiterate were to say, instead of matins, thirty Paternosters, thirty Ave Marias and one Apostle's creed, and the same in lieu of the services. The master was not to absent himself without leave of the prior, and to have precedence in the choir of the hospital in processions and on other occasions when the prior was not present. In all religious processions in the city, the master and brethren, if they attended, were to appear in their habit. Also in the solemnity of the Lord's Supper, the anniversaries of the founders, and at the exequies of the prior and monks of the priory, the master, brethren and sisters were to attend at the cathedral church according to custom. In this "revised code" of regulations even the dress in which they were to be habited was particularly described. For the master and brethren a super-tunic of black or brown, made full and wide, tucked close, with a black cross thereon and moderately long; the mantle also was to bear a black cross, and without this dress no one of the brethren were to converse out of doors with the citizens and people of Coventry. The under vest was to be a scapulary of light colour with a black cross. The sisters to wear a white veil with a super-tunic, similar to that of the brethren, and mantle or close hood, which they were constantly to use when they went out. All were to have cowls or hoods and linen vests, as of ancient times accustomed, unless they abstained from linen from devotional reasons.

Not only did the arbitrators provide for the mode of life to be observed in the hospital, but for the obsequies of its inmates. The master, brethren and sisters were to have free sepulture at the hospital, but the bodies to be buried were to be first taken to the mother church, and that all apparel of wax and tapers provided by reason of the funerals, was to be solely rendered to the cathedral church, and in acknowledgment of this right of sepulture, the hospital to offer one pound of wax, or its weight in tapers, to the cathedral church.

A significant indication of the change in the governing power of the hospital, was the destruction of the ancient seal and the substitution of a new one. This may have been partly an artistic desirability, for the old seal was somewhat crude, but the fact that all muniments which bore it from the date of the death of the late master, Henry Aston, in 1361, were to be disregarded, seems sufficiently clear as to the main object of the alteration. The old seal represents

St. John, standing, with the left hand elevated, a chalice in the right hand, with a nimbus round the head. I have described this from an impression on green wax attached to a deed temp. Henry III., on which only the letters Sigill remained. This seal was vesica shaped. The new seal was of similar form, more ornate in character; the centre of the design is occupied by a canopied niche, containing the full length figure of St. John, holding in his left hand a crucifix, as an emblematic representation of the apocalyptic Lamb. The seal bears this inscription: **S. hospitalis sci Jobis de coventre.**

The Charters containing the recited privileges and rights of the hospital were to be kept, with the seal, under three keys in the hospital, of which the master was to have charge of one, the brethren and sisters the other two. Each party, that is the master and his fraternity on the one hand, and the prior and his convent on the other, were to have transcripts of such deeds affecting their interests, of which only one of them were in possession of the original deeds, and all bulls, letters and other legal instruments which the monastery possessed, should be exhibited as relating to the hospital, so that full justice should be afforded to both sides; certain re-arrangements as to properties and exchanges were made, mostly to the advantage of the conventual body, and various adjustments of rentals were made relative to lands held of the priory by the hospital in Coventry, Harnale, Eccleshall, Stoke and Keresley, whereby the hospital was to pay 21s. 4d. annually, this revenue to go to the accounts of the chamberlain, treasurer and cellarer of the priory; a further sum of 28s. 8d. was to be paid to the pitancier for divers tenements in Coventry, and four shillings annually to the chapel of S. Mary in the cathedral church. Some of the hospital lands were to be relinquished altogether. But the land lying between Swanswell Pool on the north and the city wall, to the Dern gate on the south, was to remain as before in the occupation of the hospital, and a provision was made that whenever the prior thought well to cleanse the pools, dams, or stews belonging to the convent, the dirt was to be put on the prior's land, and not on the herbage of the hospital lands, and as compensation for the overflow of the waters of Swanswell on the lower land of the hospital, the prior was to relinquish his claims to tithe of the hay in the hospital meadows in Coventry and Harnale. A somewhat significant clause appears in the terms of the adjudication, and this is the annulling of the bull of Pope Honorius III., granted in 1221, in which special privileges had been conferred on this hospital; and not only this, but all other documents which gave the master and his brethren a certain amount of independence in the control of their own affairs: and it is also specially stipulated that the submission of the previous master, Br. Alexander, as to the temporalities and the subsequent confirmation of the same by Robert, then Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, should be null and void, excepting so far as did not come within the secular power, which it appears the convent determined to maintain. The reason given for this is:—"To prevent further disputes," clearly showing that when it interfered

with the claims to superior jurisdiction on the part of the priory, neither the Pope's Bull or the exercise of Diocesan supervision were regarded by that powerful community. As an example of this kind of document I give a translation of the bull of Pope Honorius III. "Honorius, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our beloved sons the ruler and brothers of the hospital of St. John of Coventry, health and apostolical benediction. When we are petitioned for what is just and honest as well by the power of equity as the natural force of reason, the care of our office induces us to grant the request. Wherefore, beloved sons in the Lord, your just requests are granted with our assent, with all the goods which you at present properly possess, or in future, by the help of the Lord, may acquire under the blessed Peter, we take into our protection, but especially the land at Smercote, with the assarts,* houses and other appurtenances which you have justly and peaceably possessed, we confirm to you and your house by our apostolical authority, and further strengthen and defend by these our present writings. Therefore, let no man infringe on this page of our confirmation, etc. Dated at Lateran, xv. Kal. Jan. (*i.e.*, Jan. 18), in the sixth year of our pontificate, and in the year of our Lord MCCXXI."

I have given this piece of litigation somewhat fully as an illustration of the mode of settling ecclesiastical disputes in the fifteenth century. Thomas Everdon was at this time master, and experienced all those difficulties which a weaker power has to contend with in fighting with the stronger. Richard Crosby was at this time prior, a man of great administrative ability, superior of a monastery in a high state of prosperity and power.

The fortunes of the hospital do not appear to have been seriously affected in the struggle, or its usefulness retarded, for we find benefactors still willing to advance its interest.

In 1413, John Boteler, son and heir of Thomas Boteler, of Coventry, gave to William Ive, priest, one acre of several land in Corley, called Ladyaker, lying near the public road; and in 1437, this William Ive let to Thomas Everdon, master of the Hospital of St. John, this same land for ninety years, the master giving him a cartload of wood, value eighteenpence, and two quarters of charcoal at Michaelmas, during the whole of his life, to be taken to his chamber in Coventry, and after his decease, the master and his successors to pay to the heirs of William Ive one rose at the feast of St. John Baptist, for all services, fees, etc. The deed was witnessed by John de Waldezeve and others, and this document, together with a number of others relating to this hospital, were burnt in the fire at the Birmingham Free Library.

In 1439, an act of Leet was passed, by which the right of the hospital which it had enjoyed from ancient times to the plain and pasture at "Swanneswelpole," with usage of a certain pathway, was confirmed.

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* Woodland cleared of bushes and fit for tillage.

In 1444 a tripartite indenture was made between John Pake, then master, and the brothers and sisters of the one part, John Lusterley, master of Corpus Christi and St. Nicholas Guild and the brethren of the same guild on the second part, and John Blakeman and Margaret his wife, of Coventry, of the third part. The master, etc., of the hospital herein state that for the great love and benefit which the said John and Margaret have for the hospital, they agree with the master of the said guild, and John and Margaret, to nominate and assign one bed in the hospital to one poor man or woman, as often as the said bed, by the death of the infirm person so occupying it, becomes vacant, for ever; which bed shall be called "Blakeman's bed," and which is to be placed in a part of the church of the said hospital, on the west side near the door and near the buttery there. Neither John Blakeman or his wife or the master of the guild, to put any mad, quarrelsome, leprous, infected, or loose person wandering without the hospital in the night to the same bed, but otherwise the master to remove such objectionable person and admit a proper one. And also the master, etc., of the hospital, agree to celebrate an anniversary in the said hospital for one hundred years, viz:—to say the mass for the dead for the souls of all the faithful deceased, and especially for the souls of John Blakeman and his wife, after they have departed this life, etc. The master of the hospital to pay on the anniversary, to the clerks and priests, 3s. 4d., and to the infirm poor there, also 3s. 4d.; the bed to be established during the lifetime of the said John Blakeman and his wife, and after their deaths the master of the guild, on the anniversary, to attend to the payment for the same to the master of the hospital, and to nominate a person to the bed. To this indenture the three parties affixed their seals, the witnesses being the then Mayor, Richard Braytoft, and a number of other chief citizens; the deed bearing date the Thursday before the feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross,* 1444. On March 9th, 1446, Margaret Blakeman, after the death of her husband, gave to Corpus Christi and St. Nicholas Guild, a stone dish, value forty shillings, and John Grinder, the master of the guild, agreed that he and his successors should faithfully perform the above premises.

In 1448, John Lusterley, merchant, of Coventry, bequeathed 6s. 8d. to be distributed among the poor in St. John's Hospital.

In 1474, Lawrence Saunders complained to the Prince of Wales† that the mayor and recorder allowed the master of St. John's Hospital to turn sheep upon the commons without stint, whereas the commoners were not allowed to exceed their rate. It appears that this Lawrence Saunders was a contentious, litigious fellow, and was at this time one of the two city chamberlains. A strict investigation was made, and ultimately Saunders was deprived of his office, in which he had succeeded in making himself exceedingly disagreeable to others in high places besides the master of St. John's Hospital; and was further ordered

* May 3rd.

† Afterwards Ed. V., murdered in the Tower, 1483.

to give security for his better behaviour, which failing to do, he was committed to prison. One of his modes of attack was the sticking up scurrilous bills on the church and minster doors and other public places, copies of some of which are still preserved and are curious samples of the anonymous squibs of that day; one verse runs thus:—

Littel small been,* Yt all aboute fleen
They waggen their whyng,
Wher as they light, the been will byte
And also styng.

another verse advises to "Be war of wappys" (wasps). This contention seems to have lasted somewhere about twenty years, and strangely enough was continued in four kings' reigns, Edward IV., Edward V., Richard III. and Henry VII. The Prince of Wales, to whom the first letters were addressed, was the lord of the manor of Cheylesmore, and would then be only about four years old. The correspondence is very lengthy, and is recorded, apparently in full, in the City Leet Book.

In 1493, the master complained of opening his land, one of those popular commotions in which the fences were destroyed, where it was supposed that an illegal encroachment had been made.

In 1518, John Haddon, draper, who had filled the mayor's chair nineteen years before, a man of much influence and charitable disposition, and who was one of the originators of the loan moneys, a plan subsequently adopted by Sir Thomas White, bequeathed—

"To the mayneten'nce of the pour folks beddes in saint John's, lxxx yards of white freese."

In 1522 a return of the benefices of the clergy in Coventry was made, and the report in reference to this hospital is as follows:—

"The M'r of the Hospitall of seint John Baptist in Coventr', hath lands to the yeirlie value of xl. *li.*, wherof xx. marc' lieth within the citie.

It'm, the value of the goods of the howse amounteth to the som' of xl. *li.* of the which lands and substauns he fyndeth hymself iij priests, iij clerks, and fyve systers, and maynteneth xxx. bedds for pore people wheirof iiij pore men continue dailie in the howse and sumtyme moo.

Sir John Came, xl *s.*
Sir Rich' Folget'm, xxx *s.*
Sir Will'm Cooke, xxvj *s.*"

The term Sir was commonly applied to the clergy in these days. It appears that John Watwood was at this time master.

But the days of adversity to the charitable fraternity of St. John's were fast approaching, a more detailed and comprehensive stock-taking was instituted, and it appears from the survey made in the 26th of Henry VIII. (1534), that the

* Bees.

revenue of the hospital at that date amounted to £99 13s. 6d., from which it is quite evident that the institution possessed other lands and rents besides those accounted for in the previous statement in 1522. From this aggregate sum of £99 13s. 6d. the following deductions were accounted for:—

	£	s.	d.
	99	13	6
Chamberlains, for murage (wall tax)	1	13	4
Bread and beer given at the hospital gate to poor people (travellers and others)	1	6	0
For the renewal of twenty beds for the use of poor and weak people and strangers	3	0	0
Stipends of three priests serving here	16	0	0
Other items for repairs and sundry expenses, including payments to the prior, £1 5s.	10	11	0
	32	10	4
Which, taken from the gross total, leaves as the clear yearly value	£67	3	2

In Stowe's MSS. in the British Museum, it is stated that there were in this house five priests and five sisters, who kept continually ten beds for passengers and poor people, who might stay there for two nights and two days.

The Valor Ecclesiasticus, 1534, gives the following particulars of the sources of income:—

	£	s.	d.
City of Coventry, messuages, tenements and cottages	50	2	0
Ditto Rents of assize	3	8	10
Ditto Demesne land	21	10	0
Ditto (uncertain)	0	10	0
Warwickshire—			
Smercote (near Bedworth) rents of pasture	12	1	4
Radford, rents of land	6	13	4
Coundon ditto	0	1	4
Greenburgh (Granborough) rents of land	0	10	0
Baginton, rents of land and tenements	1	6	8
Monks Kirby, ditto ditto	0	13	4
Binley, rents of land	1	3	4
Ryton, ditto and tenements	0	6	8
Stoke, ditto ditto	0	6	8
Leicestershire—Sharnford, rents of land and tenements	1	0	0
	£99	13	6

It will be noticed that nearly all of these payments are based on the aliquot parts of the pound.

These troublesome investigations, and the shadows they cast before them, led the authorities of the hospital to adopt a course in the instance quoted among those who were anticipating ejection, the easing of their lives by a long term of years at a low rental, probably thinking that some reversal of the decree might, in a few years, enable them to regain their own again. On the 20th of October, 1546, the master, William Wall, and the brethren and sisters recite, that by a deed dated the 29th of November, 1535, they [illegible] Julian Nethermyll, late alderman and draper of Coventry, their land and a mansion house, called Smervite (Smercote), excepting trees and underwood, for forty years, he paying £6 17s. 4d. per annum. Nethermyll having [illegible] lease came into the possession of Stephen Hales, of Newland Hall, [illegible] (a younger brother of John Hales, the master, etc.), confirmed the [illegible] with permission to fell the trees, "a great parte beyng [illegible] the ground excepting only 'Colewood,' being about seven acres, the master to bear all first fruits, tenths, subsidies, taxes, benevolences, [illegible] charges, ordinary and extraordinary, during the said term. These items would considerably reduce the net income, and the transaction strongly reminds us of the parable of the unjust steward, who, when [illegible] compounded with his master's debtors to curry favour for himself. [illegible] hospital authorities evidently expected a kind consideration [illegible] they favoured, while they had the power to treat [illegible].

On the 1st of March, 1544, the same [illegible] translation of the deed of surrender which [illegible] together with the signature of William Wall, the last master [illegible] the hospital.

"To all Christian people to whom this present writing indented may come, William Wall, clerk, master or keeper of the Hospital [illegible] in the city of Coventry and the brethren and sisters [illegible] Lord for ever. Know ye that we, the said master, brethren and sisters, [illegible] deliberate and unanimous assent and assent of [illegible] mere motion, and for certain causes and reasons [illegible] consciences, with one accord, have [illegible] by these presents give, grant, render and confirm [illegible] most invincible Prince our Lord King Henry [illegible] King of England, France and Ireland, [illegible] supreme Head of the English and Irish Church, [illegible] all our said Hospital of St. John the Baptist [illegible] circuit and precinct of the same. [illegible] messuages, gardens, curtilages, [illegible] fees, wards, marriages, bondmen, [illegible]

franchises, privileges, jurisdictions, courts of leet, view of Frankpledge, holy days, markets, advowsons, nominations, presentations, donations, vicarages, chapels, chantries, and other benefices, rectories, pensions, portions, annuities, tenths, oblations, alms, and all and every emoluments, profits, possessions and hereditaments whatsoever, belonging to the Hospital of St. John, as well within the city of Coventry, as in the county of the said city and in the counties of Warwick and Leicester, or elsewhere, in the kingdom of England, the principality of Wales and the borders of the same, and also all our goods and chattels, as well real as personal, to be disposed of by the king, or transferred at his will and pleasure to any use he may think proper.

(Signed) per me, WILLM WALL,
Magistr' Hospital's,
St. J'an's baptiste, Co'e."

The signature indicates a nervous and excited mental condition in the writer, as we can very well understand. One thing must have astonished him, as he read the deed, or heard it read to him, the very comprehensive list of possessions which he and his brethren and sisters had enjoyed, and which they were so willing and anxious to beg the king's acceptance of at their hands. In fact it was a kind of stereotyped form embracing all the items of wealth which the lawyers of that day considered that the monastic bodies, rich or poor, might, could, would, or should have had.

The original deed perished in the fire at the Birmingham Free Library, but a copy is, or was, preserved in the Augmentation Office, London.

Another valuation, made the year after the surrender, and which was probably the instrument on which John Hales obtained the king's letters patent in July, 1545, is dated June 4th, 1545, and is in the Treasury of the Corporation. "The cleare yerely value of the scite and demeanes of the late Hospital of St. John Baptist, within the Cittie of Coventre, together with all the possessions thereunto belonging, ys lxxxxix. *li.* xiij. *s.* vj. *d.* whereof deducted for the tenthe of the demene lands of the said late hospitall, and of the lands in Smercote and Radford, p'cell of the same amounting to xl. *li.* iiij. *s.* viij. *d.* by the yere iiij. *li.* vj. *d.*, and so remaynethe cleare lxxxxv. *li.* xiij. *s.*, w'ch is given by the king's ma'tie unto the saide John Hales and to his heires for ev' in considerac'on of w'ch guyft the saide John Hales hathe alredy paid unto his Hignes own hands the sum of cccc. *li.* sterling."

To this valuation, and letters patent above referred to was attached this memorandum :—

"Md The said John Hales must be bound to ffynd one ffree scole within the said Cittie of Coventre."

It would seem that this memorandum was an afterthought surreptitiously added, inasmuch as if it had been a *bona-fide* condition it would have been inserted in the body of the king's patent, in which it does not appear. But it

is further contended that Hales himself had persuaded the king to suppress the condition, probably with the view of securing the credit of the foundation to himself, or at all events the preventing any interference with the sole control he might desire to possess over the intended school. These matters, however, belong properly to the history of the school itself.

But to return to the hospital. Attached thereto was a chantry, founded in connection with the Guild of St. Katherine, which was established by licence granted on the 12th of November, 1343, which stipulates that the guild shall find three priests to sing mass daily for the souls of the King Edward III., and his queen, for Queen Isabella, the king's mother, and others in the *Chapel of St. Katherine, in the Church of the Hospital of St. John Baptist.* Sharp suggests that this chantry was held in the north transept, but the fact is, this church not being cruciform, never had any transepts, but aisles to the nave, and it was in the northern of these aisles that the chantry was most probably situated. There can be no doubt that the association of St. Katherine's Guild with this hospital would be beneficial to the institution; its members being wealthy and bound to exercise a liberal charity.

We will now consider the same building under a new aspect; for a period of 384 years it had been dedicated to the service of God, and to the relief of the sick, the poor and the aged; for the next 340 it was destined for the prosecution of a different but a good work, the education of the young. To trace the history of the new institution in all its detail would be impossible within the limits of the present paper, which is primarily intended for the history of the hospital; the references to its history as a school must therefore be necessarily brief.

In 1544, the year before John Hales acquired, by purchase, from the king direct, the Hospital of St. John, he bought the monastery of the Carmelites, or White Friars (now the workhouse) from Sir Ralph Sadler, who had obtained a grant of it early in the same year. This building, Hales at once proceeded to convert into a private residence, by destroying the portions for which he had no need, and altering the remainder, calling it Hales Place. The church, which stood to the north of this residence, he fitted up as a school, which he commenced under his own supervision, employing a Mr. Sherwyn as master. Some leading citizens, however, being dissatisfied at the steps Mr. Hales had so far taken, or jealous at having no share in its government, bestirred themselves to harass Mr. Hales in his efforts. They first found out that, though he had bought the friary, he had not secured the church, the monks having paid a sum of two shillings annually for the ground on which it stood, which belonged to, or had been conveyed to, the corporation. Finding himself driven from the church, he removed the beds, etc., from the hospital, and the school fittings, together with all the stalls, etc., to the hospital church, and this must have been very soon after he had purchased it, for it is referred to as the "Free

School" in a document preserved in Trinity Church, under the following circumstances:—In a series of *Injunctions given to the Clergy* it is ordered that all the priests residing in Coventry shall attend and receive open lessons in Divinity, to be read in the Free School, by the vicars of St. Michael's and Holy Trinity, at stated times during the week; and that three of the priests, one from St. Michael's and the other from Trinity, shall be regularly in attendance at the school each working day, to assist in teaching the children their alphabets, under the direction of the schoolmaster. Mr. Sharp, Mr. Reader and others, assume this attendance to receive lectures on divinity indicates a state of ignorance among the clergy, but I think that this course was adopted as a natural consequence of the change in the national form of religion, and that it was an absolute necessity for these clerical meetings to take place under the circumstances.

Disputes still continued with the citizens, which lasted till the visit of Queen Elizabeth, in 1565, who causing Hales's patent to be examined, and finding no stipulation therein compelling him to establish the school, the matter ended; but the members of the Corporation had obtained the church of the White Friars on the plea that there was insufficient church accommodation in the city; then their ardour cooled, and instead of retaining the church as an additional place of worship, they pulled it down and sold the materials.

When permanently settled at the hospital, the residence of the master (which was on the north side of the church) was altered for the schoolmaster's use; this building, subsequently enlarged, was taken down recently. Mr. Hales finally endowed the school (which he had founded in his lifetime) in his will, the provisions of which were further strengthened by an act of Parliament, and the school was thus publicly acknowledged; the mayor and corporate body being invested with the governing power, the school being called the "School of King Henry VIII." It has always been known as the Free School, until its recent removal to new buildings south of the city, when the nominal honour was again restored to it. A code of rules and regulations was framed for its government in 1628, some of which are curious enough; but important changes took place in 1734, when St. John Baptist's Church (formerly collegiate, on the west side of the city) was made a parish church, the rectory being attached to the head mastership of the Free School, and the lectureship or curacy to the undermaster. In 1794 the old front of the school was taken down to widen the street and the new front set back; these alterations were completed in 1802, and in 1852 additional alterations were made, the front being recased and a new west window inserted. A new clock was put up in 1690, which, after years of rest and neglect, has lately been set going again. In 1835 the trusteeship was transferred from the Corporation to the Church Charity Trustees, and in 1857 the mastership was separated from the Rectory of Bablake, and the two institutions are now entirely independent of each other. The scholars met in the old

and abandon the lower portions of the twelfth century structure altogether; hence the discovery of this old pier is accounted for.

The conventual buildings appear to have been arranged for the most part on the four sides of a square enclosure, but there are no indications of a cloister. The chapel occupied the north side and consisted of a nave, choir (with no chancel arch), north and south aisles, with a tower at the north-west angle. This feature is best described from the existing remains. The roof of nave and chancel is continuous, and has been ceiled in form of a wagon-hood, but has the original timber roof above it. The choir is in length about thirty-six feet by twenty-two in breadth, and is lighted on the east by a fine decorated window of five lights, with flamboyant tracery in the head; the lower part of this and the other windows has been walled up about four feet, in consequence of the floor having been raised about the same height, most probably when it was converted into a school. On the north and south sides of the east window are traces of brackets, on which formerly stood statues. There are two windows on each side, of three lights each, of decorative character, and I am informed that beneath the present floor, in the south-east angle, is a piscina, just where it might be expected such a provision would be made.

Round the walls of the choir are arranged the stalls, some belonging to the hospital, and others, no doubt, those described before as having been brought from the White-friars; and possibly, some from the Priory. There are ten of these stalls on each side the choir, and eight at the east end, making twenty-eight altogether. This not being the ecclesiastical arrangement, shows that they were so placed for school purposes, the centre of the east end having a raised desk for the head master. Again, the fronts of the stalls do not coincide with the stalls themselves, which indicates that there were probably more than one, or even two, sets of stalls brought into use. Another calculation is of note. There were never more than sixteen or eighteen monks at the White-friars, and only about ten of the hospital, yet here we have altogether forty-seven stalls remaining, twenty-eight in the choir and nineteen in the nave. Where could the others have come from? In all cases the Misereres have been removed, but some of them are preserved in the library at the new school.

The nave was not separated from the choir by a chancel arch, but by a wooden screen, and I believe the carved elevation in the centre of the eastern stalls to have been a portion of it. It measures about forty feet in length by twenty-three in breadth, it was separated from the aisles by an arcade of two arches on each side, the piers are much altered and incorporated with the walling which has been inserted, the mutilated caps are still traceable: above these columns and the responds is a plain square stilt of several feet, on which the springs of the moulded arches rest; along the top of the wall of both nave and choir runs a simple bold moulding, corresponding with the position of the wall-plate; along the north side the stalls are continued to the western extremity

character, a doorway beneath, deeply splayed, gave access to the nave, and between the two was a tablet bearing a latin inscription indicating that the building was "The School of King Henry VIII., founded by John Hales, Knight, in which boys are instructed in the liberal sciences to the end of time, to the glory of Christ, and the edification of the church."

In the angle between the tower and Silver Street, stood one of the market crosses, known as Swine Cross.

I have now terminated my record of the fortunes and misfortunes of the last of the monastic institutions of Coventry, which I have had the privilege to lay before this institution, and if it has not so important a chronicle as some of those I have previously treated upon, it will be admitted that, as one of those charitable institutions which flourished in the Middle Ages, its history is worthy of contemplation.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Lords of Berkeley took an active part in the wars between the Barons and the Crown, and in the wars against the Scots under Wallace and Bruce. They fought, too, at Crecy, Poictiers, and Agincourt. It was at Berkeley Castle that Edward II. was imprisoned and murdered, in 1327. The meeting between Henry of Lancaster and the Duke of York, which led to the downfall of Richard II., took place here in 1399.

In 1492, William, twelfth Lord Berkeley, left the Castle and the whole of the family estates to Henry VII., and they were held by that King and his successors for more than 61 years, when, Edward VI. dying without issue, they reverted to the family.

In 1645, the Parliamentarians besieged the Castle, which, the church and town having already been taken, surrendered on the 26th September. The Castle was restored to George, eighteenth Lord Berkeley, and the large gap now seen on the north-west side of the keep, was made to render it incapable of defence in the future. Since this time the Castle has been used as a country residence.

The church adjacent to the Castle dates from the twelfth century, but the greater part is of the thirteenth. The nave arcades are specially fine examples with carved capitals. The Fitzhardinge Chapel of the fifteenth century, is well groined, and contains some very interesting recumbent effigies. The whole of the church was restored by Mr. Gilbert Scott, in 1865 and 1866. The tower, which stands at a considerable distance from the church, is of a debased character.

The inspection of the Castle and church being concluded, dinner was partaken of at the Berkeley Arms Hotel, and the party then drove back to Berkeley Road Station *en route* for Bath.

On reaching Bath, the visitors were met by Major E. Davis, F.S.A., the City Architect, whose discovery of the great Roman bath, in 1884, and subsequent excavations, rendered his attentions to the Members of the Section exceedingly valuable and complimentary. Major Davis has described these discoveries in a paper read before the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, on the 25th July, 1884, and it is now published in pamphlet form, under the title, *"Guide to the Roman Baths of Bath."

In addition to the Baths, a visit was made to the Guildhall to inspect a number of interesting oil portraits of local celebrities. Thence to the well known Abbey Church. The remarkable sculptures in the west front are supposed to represent "Jacob's Ladder." On either side angels are seen ascending and descending, but the curious part of the spectacle is, that those descending are coming down head first.

A small portion of the City wall, with one of the original gates, was pointed out by Major Davis, and near it, the picturesque weir and remains of a medieval mill.

At the collation provided at the White Lion Hotel, a hearty vote of thanks was passed to Major Davis for his courteous attentions, and after that gentleman's reply, a move was at once made for the railway station, and the evening mail brought the party safely home soon after 10 o'clock.

* Lewis, Sons & Tyte, Bath.

FENNY COMPTON AND BURTON DASSETT.

10th July.

RUMOURS having reached some of the members of the Committee that the church at Burton Dassett was about to undergo restoration, an excursion was at once arranged to visit it whilst it yet retained any attraction for the artist and antiquary. Thirty-eight members of the Section formed the party, leaving Snow Hill at 2.35, and arriving at Fenny Compton soon after three. The village, about a mile from the station, has some very fine stone farm-houses of the seventeenth century, with high-pitched thatched roofs, stone gable copings and mullioned windows. One house, dating from the fourteenth century, retains a good pointed arched window of two lights, of that time, with moulded jambs, arch and lable, and good tracery. It was probably the manor-house.

The interior of the church has been too much modernised to be very interesting. The chancel has been in great part rebuilt, but retains the jambs and arch of the fourteenth century east window (now filled with modern mullions and tracery) and a good chancel arch. The south aisle is divided from the nave by a diminutive but well-proportioned arcade, of the thirteenth century, of five bays of pointed arches on octagon pillars. The capitals are moulded. The north aisle and arcade are modern. The tower and spire at the west end are of the fourteenth century and of good proportions. The spire has a considerable entasis.

The walk to Burton Dassett lay across fields and downs, and on arriving at the top of the hill overlooking the church a long pause was made to enjoy the magnificent view of Edge Hill and the valley in which the memorable battle of 1642 was fought. The church lies just below, so close to the steep side of the hill that a stone can almost be thrown on to the top of the tower. It stands quite alone, and is built of the coarse cornbrash stone from the neighbouring hills, the warm coloured lichened masonry standing out effectively from the back-ground of fine elms beyond.

The church is a large and somewhat remarkable building, with a very complete ground plan, comprising chancel, nave, with north and south aisles, north and south transepts, western tower and north porch. Records of the Norman period remain in the north and south doorways, which are good shafted and enriched examples of the twelfth century. The greater part of the church is, however, of the thirteenth century, including the very interesting arcades and the transept and chancel arches. Most of the windows are also of this period; lancets, grouped in couplets and triplets. The well-proportioned pointed arches of the north arcade spring from octagonal pillars, the capitals of which are moulded and have a large hollow, in which are carved running animals and

foliage; there are also pieces of carving above the capitals overlaying the double splays of the springing stones of the arches. The arches from the aisles to the transepts springing from single attached shafts are of great beauty. The chancel arch is of remarkably fine proportions, the piers triple shafted, with carved capitals which have square abacuses.

As the church stands on the foot of the hill, the chancel being on the highest ground, the floor of the nave has been made to slope considerably, and the chancel floor is raised above it by six steps with two others further eastward. The ancient stone slab of the altar remains in the church, and there are several very interesting monuments. A few good old oak benches are left in the south aisle. The roofs are of the fifteenth century, of low pitch, much dilapidated, and patched with modern timbers. There is a clerestory with square windows of two lights. It would require many pages to fully describe this most interesting church and its contents, but space will not permit. The tower is massive, with bold buttresses at the corners placed diagonally, and a plain parapet; it is probably mainly of the early part of the fourteenth century. The party received most courteous attention and guidance from the vicar, the Rev. H. Wilkinson.

The Beacon Hill was then ascended, where tea was served in a large marquee. After tea, the ancient circular beacon tower and the picturesque windmill were examined, whilst some of the party walked to the ruined chapel of North End, now a cowhouse, but retaining most of its walls and some details of the fourteenth century. The return to Birmingham was made from Fenny Compton station about nine o'clock.

LONDON.

12th, 13th and 14th August.

On these dates the committee carried into effect the long-cherished idea of a visit to the Metropolis. Every year, for fifteen or sixteen years past, some four or five summer excursions had been made, and the Members of the Section had gone as far afield as Peterborough and Lincoln, Tintern and Monmouth, Wells and Glastonbury, and Salisbury and Winchester. In choosing fresh campaigning grounds the committee thought of the antiquarian riches in which London abounds, and a selection was made of some of the places not usually visited by the ordinary tourist, in addition to those more popularly known.

The journey to town was made by the 2.35 Great Western train to Paddington, this route being especially pleasant at this time of year. Harvesting operations

in the cornfields of Oxfordshire and Berkshire, and the many weys of the Thames, rendered the journey anything but tedious, and on the arrival of the train at the terminus, omnibuses were waiting to convey the party to their quarters at the First Avenue Hotel, Holborn. Dinner being promptly served, the members dispersed for the evening, the business proper being reserved for the two following days.

On Friday morning, much to the regret of all present, a letter was received from the President of the Section, Mr. Sam. Timmins, to the effect that he was unable to join them as he had intended, and thereupon Mr. Cossins, the honorary secretary, assumed the leadership of the party.

The first business of the day was to visit the Guildhall to inspect the library and the Roman antiquities in the crypt, Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., having most kindly come up from Strood to meet the visitors. In the absence from town of the librarian, the visitors were received by Mr. Charles Welch, the assistant-librarian, who had spared no pains to make their short visit useful and enjoyable. A large number of most interesting books had been laid out for inspection, including a work, in two volumes, of drawings and details of Old London Bridge, amplified by the insertion of innumerable drawings and prints to twelve volumes. Another, showing all the particulars of the coronation of George IV., contained the picture of almost everybody officially concerned, painted in a style which would not have disgraced the most eminent miniature painter. A unique volume, representing the Fishmongers' Pageant in 1616, attracted general admiration. The book contained copies of the pictures which were carried in the Lord Mayor's Show at that period. A fine "inlaid" "Life of Nelson" contained exquisitely painted portraits of every Admiral and Captain mentioned by Lord Nelson in his despatches, of the little known Lady Nelson, and of Lady Hamilton. The first edition of Stowe's "London," 1598, was seen to have been amplified into two large folio volumes, filled with a wonderful collection of memorials of the city. A curious little thin quarto was designated "The olde, old, very old man, or the age and longlife of Thomas Parr, the son of John Parr, of the parish of Alberbury in the county of Salop (or Shropshire), who was born in the raine of King Edward the Fourth, and is now living in the Strand, being 152 yeares and odd moneths old." The imprint is "John Taylor, 1635." Perhaps the work which attracted most general attention was a complete set of Mr. Halliwell Phillipps' fac-simile quarto of Shakspere's plays. The edition was at first limited to fifty copies, and of these nineteen were destroyed, thus leaving only thirty-one copies. It is believed that not more than seven complete sets are now in existence. Mr. Roach Smith described how Mr. Halliwell Phillipps had caused to be destroyed, before some eyes, all the valuable wood blocks which had been prepared for the publication of the reprints. Many valuable books too numerous for mention were shown and commented upon, arising from the particular copy of the Roman road by Sale in his

translation, and which formerly belonged to the Dutch Library in Austen Friars. A rare Latin Bible and other valuable volumes also came from that source. An early Livy, dated 1485, beautifully clean as on the day it was issued. A copy of Lyson's Environs of London, originally in five volumes, amplified to twenty-one quarto volumes by the introduction of thousands of illustrations. A curious work, "The Seven Deadly Sinnes of London," by Thomas Dekker, in 1605, was shown. A copy of the first Froissart was exhibited, dated 1477, and printed at Leyden. The choicest manuscript in the library was a Chronicle of France in the first year of King Henry IV., 1314. It is most splendidly illuminated, and at the beginning of each reign contains a wonderful representation of the coronation of the King, particulars of whom follow. One volume has the autographs of all the Lord Mayors of London from 1680 contained in various letters and other documents; and of each Lord Mayor was a highly finished portrait, besides coats of arms and other things relating to the Mayoralty. Time did not allow for more than the most superficial inspection of the many literary treasures collected here.

On descending into the Crypt to see the Roman antiquities contained therein—most of which have been found in past and recent excavations in the City of London—Mr. Roach Smith delivered a short address in which he pointed out that there were two distinctly different periods of Roman occupation of London, and that in pulling down the remains of that great circumvallation called London Wall it was found to have been built to a large extent of materials which had been formerly used by the Romans. Among all the discoveries but few inscriptions had been found. Mr. Smith remarked upon the intercourse between Britain and the Continent, which he said must have been enormous, and that the Romans, by having relays of horses, travelled through to the north of Britain in a very short time. After Mr. Smith had briefly alluded to some of the objects in the Museum, the party made a tour of inspection, Mr. Smith directing attention to many of them, pointing out their chief points of interest. To most of the visitors the extent and interest of this collection was a great surprise. But the Museum contains many remarkable and rare objects in addition to its Romano-British remains. Here is preserved the original deed, dated March 10th, 1612-13, for the purchase of a house in Blackfriars by William Shakspere, and which bears his signature; also a photograph of the mortgage deed of the same property executed a day later. Of course the famous deed was curiously inspected. Another object of scarcely less interest was the old carved boar's head which used to hang out at the tavern of that name in East Cheap. Other tradesmen's signs which formerly held their places in the streets of old London are here preserved—the three Kings of Cologne, the Anchor, St. George and the Dragon, and others. There is also a portrait of Abraham Newland, whose signature a generation or two ago used to appear on all the notes of the Bank of England.

The upper chambers of the Guildhall were next seen. The Council Chamber of the Court of Aldermen, with its ceiling painted by Sir James Thornhill, and containing the portraits of many of the judges, and the new Council Chamber. Then the new Art Gallery of the Corporation of London was inspected. It is filled with pictures by Sir Joshua Reynolds, Northcote, Pickersgill, Sir W. Beechy, West, Allan Ramsay, Smirke, and one of Her Majesty, seated on the Throne, by Sir George Hayter.

A departure was made from the Guildhall to the Tower, where, by the courtesy of the governor, the party was permitted to see some of the places not shown to ordinary visitors. St. John's Chapel, the most interesting Norman interior in the country. In it Queen Mary was married to Phillip of Spain by proxy. The old Banqueting Hall, where the recent dynamite explosion took place, was seen to have suffered but little injury. Descending to the basement, the torture chamber was seen. It has been much altered, the ceiling having been raised by Sir Christopher Wren, and it is now used as a place of storage. In a cell called "Little Ease," from the fact of it being scarcely high enough for a man to stand upright in, and not large enough for anyone to lie down in, Guido Fawkes is said to have been confined from the 5th of November till the 9th of February, when he was executed. In the meantime he suffered the rack. The side of this cell having been removed to widen a passage, its original features have been to some extent destroyed. "Cold Harbour," another cell adjoining, is interesting as having been the place where Sir Thomas More was imprisoned, and, with the exception of its not being so restricted in space, must have been about as uncomfortable as the one in which Fawkes was confined. The chapel of St. Peter ad Vinculo, a building of the fifteenth century, has many historical associations connected with it, some of which are that it is the burial place of Simon, Lord Frazer of Lovett, Earl Kilmarnock, and Lord Balmerino, who suffered death for the part they had taken in the rebellion of '45, and were the last persons who suffered death by way of beheading with the axe. In it are also buried Sir Thomas More, Anne Boleyn, Thomas Cromwell, Queen Katherine Howard, John Dudley, Earl of Northumberland, Lady Jane Grey and her husband Lord Guildford Dudley, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Duke of Monmouth and others.

After lunch, Mr. Cossins proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Roach Smith, to Mr. Overall, librarian of the Guildhall Library, and to Mr. Welch, assistant librarian, for their kind assistance and attention during the morning, which was carried by acclamation and acknowledged by Mr. Smith and Mr. Welch.

In the afternoon, the British Museum was visited, where the Romano-British antiquities, the various primitive bone and flint implements, and the gems and iridescent glass in the Gold Ornament Room were examined with great attention and care.

The Charterhouse was the next place of rendezvous, and the visit proved of exceptional interest. Originally a mediæval monastery, the building has been, in the concise words of Mr. Loftie, "The refuge of More, the Elizabethan dwelling house, the prison of Norfolk, and the school of Thackeray." A bill recently promoted for the removal of the Charterhouse met with the well-deserved protest of all antiquaries, and it is to be hoped that the day is far distant when this most interesting of the few ancient monuments of London shall be allowed to "go over to the majority." It was in the Charterhouse that Thackeray wrote "The Newcomes," and a mural tablet to the memory of the gifted novelist was an object of special regard. The chapel, the hall, and the other rooms were all thoroughly inspected. In the quadrangles, which are beautifully kept by the present recipients of the bounty, it is alleged that during the time of the Plague 47,000 persons who died of the contagion were buried.

The old Church of St. Bartholomew the Great, a fine Norman building, now undergoing restoration, was next visited, and was described by Mr. Griffiths. In it is a font, from which Hogarth was baptised. With this the first day's business was concluded.

Saturday's proceedings included visits to Lambeth Palace and Westminster Abbey. Making a short call *en passant* at the well-known Temple Church and the adjacent Hall of the Middle Temple, with its fine oaken roof and screen, a steamboat, taken at Temple pier, conveyed the visitors to Lambeth Palace, a building full of architectural interest and rich in historic associations, both national and ecclesiastical. By special permission of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, it will be remembered, was President of the Institute last year, every facility was most courteously afforded for a leisurely inspection of the Palace. It is obviously impossible to give within the limits of this notice even a condensation of the history of the architectural changes in the place which now for nearly seven centuries has been the official residence of the Archbishops of Canterbury, and it must suffice to describe the visit of the fortunate few who on Saturday spent so pleasant a time within its precincts. The visitors were admitted by what is known as the "great gateway," built by Archbishop Morton, somewhat earlier than 1502. It is a building of red brickwork, with stone quoins and dressings, and next to the adjacent tower of the parish church forms a familiar and conspicuous object from the river. Outside the large arch is an old leaden water-pipe, bearing upon its square head a *ton* with the letter M upon it—the rebus of the founder Morton's name.

The first room visited was the library, a fine apartment, but specially interesting in respect of its priceless literary treasures. More than 30,000 volumes fill the shelves and cases, and the rarest of these were placed before the visitors. Special mention must be made of a work entitled "De Virginitate," supposed to have been written by Alcuin, a Saxon of noble birth and the friend and counsellor of Charlemagne; an illuminated copy of the Gospels,

by MacDurnan, Bishop of Armagh in the ninth century, bearing testimony to the devotion and skill of the monks of "the Holy Island;" a beautiful MS. of the thirteenth century of the "Apocalypse of St. John," with more than seventy brilliantly illuminated representations. A copy of the "Mazarine Bible," supplying a singular link between the "Scriptorium" of the monastery and the press of the printer, was an object of special interest. This was originally supposed to be a very fine manuscript, the ruled horizontal lines and finely illuminated capitals, and the rich ornamentation of the vellum, serving to confirm this impression. Later on, however, it was discovered to be a finely printed copy of the "Gottenberg Bible," but containing the New Testament only. It is a large folio, and the earliest printed edition of the Bible known, bearing date 1455—twenty years before the appearance in England of Caxton's first printed book. A volume of "Christian Prayers and Meditations" used by Queen Elizabeth, the history of which can authentically be traced till it came into the hands of Queen Anne, and subsequently of Tenison, through whom it came to the Lambeth Library. "The Most Valuable Koran of Asia;" sundry beautiful missals; works bearing the autographs of Cranmer, Charles I., and many others of historic fame, tempted the book lovers to linger, but time forbade. The guard room, now used as a dining hall, was next seen. In earlier times it was necessary that the archbishops, though by their calling "men of peace," should have their staff of men-at-arms, and the position of the guard chamber between the entrance gate and the private apartments was not without its significance as a means of protection or defence rather than of mere display. Mention is made of the guard room at Lambeth as early as 1424 in the *Computus Ballivorum* of that year, under the name of *camera armigerorum.* With national changes the men-at-arms disappeared, and their empty coats of mail hung upon the walls, mementos of a bygone state. These in their turn have all vanished, and the room, which in Laud's time contained armour enough for two hundred men, now shelters under its fifteenth century roof "the hospitable mahogany," and upon its walls, in place of rusty muskets and halberds, range portraits of the primates who have helped so much to make the history of England. Among the portraits, one of Archbishop Warham (1503—1533) by Holbein, attracted much attention. Next to the Guard Room the Water Tower was shown. This is usually called the Lollards' Tower, from the popular tradition of the confinement therein of Lollard victims of Papal persecution and tyranny. It is a group of three buildings representing very distinct periods of architecture, the oldest being of early fifteenth century date. Originally the River Thames washed the base of this building, and from the river face to the west can be seen the outline of a large doorway and, less distinctly, a flight of steps. This was the landing place, at which the archbishops' private barge would be moored. Down these steps Anne Boleyn would pass on her way to her unhappy death, from the palace in which she had been incarcerated.

The Earl of Essex, on his way as a prisoner to the Tower, took shelter here from the great storm by which he and his conductors were overtaken. In the staircase turret above is a small chamber with heavily barred casements and with massive iron rings in the walls; names, emblems, and prayers are cut in the walls, and whoever they may have been, whether Lollards or others, there can be but little doubt that many unhappy prisoners were once within its walls. Of the entire number of thirty-eight burials recorded in the Parish Church of Lambeth, in July and August, 1645, no fewer than thirteen are entered in the registers as of "Prisoners in Cant-house." Ascending to the leads of the Tower a good view was obtained of the extent of the Archiepiscopal Palace.

From the Water Tower the visitors were conducted to the Chapel, which is seventy-two feet long by twenty-five feet broad. It is divided into four bays of triplet lancets on either side, very deeply splayed and relieved by shafts of Purbeck marble. The building dates from the middle of the thirteenth century, but has been so thoroughly renewed that scarcely a detail can now be said to be original: the vaulted roof is a modern sham. The whole has been decorated with great taste and judgment by Mr. J. P. Seddon. The chapel contains the tomb of Archbishop Parker, whose remains, after resting in the chapel since 1576, were, by a rabid Puritan, dug up in 1648, the body stripped, "conveyed into the outhouse and buried among the offal." Twelve years later, when "the Throne and See were again filled," the remains were recovered and as far as possible re-interred in the chapel. Two doors which formed the centre of an old altar rail are still preserved, exhibiting a choice example of the skill of Grinling Gibbons. Time was now rapidly passing, and after a hasty glance at the Great Hall and the exterior of the modern house adjoining the ancient buildings, the visitors, with much regret, bade adieu to Lambeth Palace.

Again taking a Thames steamer to Westminster Pier, the noble Abbey was the next and last of the several items in the programme, and formed a fitting conclusion to the whole.

After an early dinner, the visitors returned by the "Zulu" express from Paddington.

Officers and Committee, 1886.

ELECTIVE.

SAM: TIMMINS, F.S.A., *President.*
J. A. COSSINS
JOHN COTTON
C. T. DAVIS
OLIVER ESSEX
J. A. LANGFORD, LL.D.
CHAS. WILLIAMS

EX-OFFICIO (Officers of the Institute).

SIR FREDK. BRAMWELL, D.C.L., F.R.S., &c., *President.*
REV. A. R. VARDY, M.A. } *Vice-Presidents.*
G. H. JOHNSTONE }
G. S. MATHEWS, M.A., *Treasurer.*
COUNCILLOR R. F. MARTINEAU, *Honorary Secretary.*

Report of the Committee,

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, 26TH JANUARY, 1887.

SAM: TIMMINS, J.P., F.S.A., IN THE CHAIR.

The Committee, in presenting their Report for the year 1886, take the opportunity of reminding the members that the Section has now been in existence for seventeen years.

It may be interesting to some of the present members to know that the meeting, at which the Section was formed, was held on the 18th March, 1868, and convened by the present President, Mr. Timmins.

From various reasons the active operations of the Section did not begin till the early part of the year 1870; and the first Annual Report presented on the 12th January, 1871, shews that there were then 192 members.

The Committee think that the members cannot fail to be gratified by the recollection that the work of the Section during all this period has been of considerable value, and that the transactions published from time to time form an exceedingly interesting, as well as useful, collection of contributions to local archæology.

The maximum number of members has been 255. The present number of members is 204, as compared with 208 last year.

The Committee are glad to be able to report that the proceedings of the Section have been carried on with much evidence of vitality, both as regards the winter meetings and the summer excursions.

During the year the following papers were read, viz.:—

By Dr. Charles Perks, of Burton-on-Trent, on "Some Romano-British Sources of Lead."

By Dr. J. A. Langford, on "The Confiscation of the Birmingham Gilds."

By Mr. H. S. Pearson, on "William Hutton."

By Prof. E. A. Sonnenschein, on "Ancient Greek Games."

By Mr. W. G. Fretton, F.S.A, on "The Hospital of St. John Baptist at Coventry."

The Committee feel that the members of the Section are much indebted to the readers of the papers, many of whom are not intimately associated with the Institute, for their kind assistance in this department of the Section's work.

Owing to the visit of the British Association to Birmingham, only three excursions were made by the Section, namely:—

On the 25th June to Bath and Berkeley, attended by 26 persons.

On the 10th July (Saturday afternoon) Fenny Compton and Burton Dassett—attended by 28.

On August 12th to 14th, London—attendance 36.

The Committee have reason to believe that the last mentioned excursion, which had long been anticipated by some of the members of the Section, gave considerable gratification to those who took part in it; and it served to shew that a similar excursion might with advantage be arranged in future for the purpose of visiting the many places of interest in the Metropolis, which could not be included in the programme of this excursion.

During the year the Committee have obtained photographs of several old buildings about to be demolished. They have also had a catalogue of the property of the Section compiled, and this will be published in the volume of Transactions for the years 1884-5.* This volume it is expected will be issued to the Subscribers during the month of February next; and the volume for the year 1886 is also in the printers' hands, and will probably be issued during the first half of the present year.

The Committee have received with regret the resignation of Mr. Cecil T. Davis, who has left Birmingham for London.

* This was found to be impracticable: the catalogue will be issued with the volume for 1887.

Dr. *General Account.* Cr.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1886.

1886.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31st—To Advertising	0	11	1			
" Audit Expenses	2	2	0			
" Bookbinding	1	6	0			
" Printing and Stationery ...	3	2	11			
" Postages, Carriage and Incidentals	7	13	1			
" Transactions	69	19	9			
				84	14	10
" Balance carried forward ...				128	8	5
				£213	3	3

1885.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31st.—By Balance brought forward				139	8	3
1886.						
Dec. 31st.—By Interest on Deposit A/c	7	19	3			
" Subscriptions	49	15	0			
" Excursions	2	18	5			
" Solihull Reprint ...	13	2	4			
				73	15	0
				£213	3	3

[Signed] LAUNDY & Co.,
Chartered Accountants.
26th Jan., 1887.

Copying Fund.

1886.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31st—To Photographs, etc.	17	1	11
" Balance carried forward ...	87	17	2
	£104	19	1

1885.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31st.—By Balance brought forward	96	0	1
1886.			
Dec. 31st.—By Subscriptions	8	19	0
	£104	19	1

[Signed] LAUNDY & Co.,
Chartered Accountants.
26th Jan., 1887.

Balance Sheet.

1886.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31st.—To Balance of Income A/c ...	128	8	5
" " Copying Fund ...	87	17	2
	£216	5	7

[Signed] G. S. MATHEWS,
Treasurer.

1886.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31st.—By Amount in hands of Birmingham Joint Stock Bank:			
Deposit A/c	190	14	6
General A/c	0	17	1
Amounts due from sundry persons	24	14	0
	£216	5	7

[Signed] LAUNDY & Co.,
Chartered Accountants.
26th Jan., 1887.

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